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Table with exchange rates for various countries including Abu Dhabi, Albania, Australia, etc.

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

46,589

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Ulster peace cracks widen

David Sharrock, Ireland Correspondent

NORTHERN Ireland's two-year peace was battered on a knife edge last night as more than a 1,000 members of the exclusively Protestant Orange Order faced RUC riot police in Portadown and loyalists planned an escalating campaign of confrontation throughout Ulster. By midnight last night, there were 2,000 officers in and around the Co Armagh town, with five army battalions being held in reserve. The tense stand-off came as police blockaded an Orange Order church parade at Drumcree, on the outskirts of this staunchly loyalist town, which was the scene last year of another ugly confrontation between police and marchers. Last night the Orange Order appeared to be in control of the protest but was preparing to put into action a series of protests across Northern Ireland. Elsewhere, there were disturbances at Newtownards, the MI was briefly blocked at Moira and other roads were blocked around Drumore. According to well-placed sources, the Orange Order intends to escalate the protests in the run-up to the Twelfth of July celebrations this Friday with the aim of paralysing Northern Ireland by the weekend if the RUC does not agree to let the Garvaghy Road parade continue. If the plan succeeds, it will be the largest challenge to the civil authorities since the Ulster Workers' Council strike brought down the Northern Ireland power-sharing executive in 1974. Police threw up a barricade of barbed wire half a mile long through the fields at Portadown to prevent being outflanked while the Orange Order mobilised their members in the Province. Stunners were thrown at police lines and a teenager was arrested. Later, the Democratic Unionist leader Ian Paisley arrived amid cheers. Mr Paisley said there was a "long hard slog" ahead. The Ulster Unionist leader David Trimble, whose presence at last year's "Siege of Drumcree" assisted him to the helm of his party, criticised the RUC chief constable, Sir Hugh Amessley, for his decision to prevent the Orange parade from passing down the Garvaghy Road. "We are dealing with a very dangerous situation here," said Mr Trimble. "This situation is very ill-advised on the part of the chief constable. He shouldn't have done it, he's taking gambles." Those gambles were starkly revealed by some senior mid-Ulster loyalists who were monitoring proceedings. "The ceasefire is over," said one figure bleakly. "In the event of us going back to war down here, the rest will have to follow. 'We've taken enough and all we've seen in return is more and more appeasement of the IRA. If we give in on this one, the loyalist people are finished.' Last year's confrontation was resolved with an RUC climbdown and the reluctant permission of residents of the over-represented Catholic and Protestant areas of the town to allow the Orange Order to complete their 188-year-old traditional route back from church into the centre of Portadown. So far this year, however, there has been absolutely no evidence of a mood of compromise on the part of any of the protagonists, who have all had months of planning time in which to prepare for what seemed last night to be a long and volatile confrontation. The Orangemen hope to exhaust the resources of the RUC, but the forces - which came close to collapse during last year's three-day stand-off - has prepared for a lengthy security operation. Helicopters ferried fresh supplies and personnel to the scene throughout yesterday, using a playing field as a landing strip.



Richard Krajicek enjoys his moment of triumph at the end of yesterday's Wimbledon men's final. PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JEWINGS

Victory for Krajicek, but it wasn't only the rain that turned the Wimbledon men's final into rather a damp squib

THE most rain-interrupted Wimbledon of recent years got the damp squib final it deserved yesterday when the unseeded Dutchman Richard Krajicek won a one-sided men's singles final in straight sets, writes John Dunstan. A pre-match centre court stalker at least gave the crowd something to think about during the frustrating rain breaks as Krajicek made easy work of the American Matic. Washington's 137 mph serve to thank for the win, with 14 aces taking his total for Wimbledon to 147. Washington's £192,250 second prize ought to make his plane journey home tolerable. Krajicek joins Boris Becker as only the second unseeded player to win Wimbledon, though Krajicek had a seeded place in the draw, replacing the No 2 Thomas Muster when he withdrew before the tournament. Krajicek defeated the holder Pete Sampras and the former champion Michael Stich to get to the final. "I was surprised I wasn't seeded," he said. "But I think maybe I'll be seeded next year."

skies cleared, and then the oft 7in Dutchman picked up 14 successive points in the third set to finish off his opponent. "I can't quite believe it yet," said Krajicek, who collects £392,500 for the win to take back to his Monte Carlo home. "For a while I wasn't sure the match was really over and I wondered whether I was making a fool of myself - but it was true." Krajicek had his huge 137 mph serve to thank for the win, with 14 aces taking his total for Wimbledon to 147. Washington's £192,250 second prize ought to make his plane journey home tolerable. Krajicek joins Boris Becker as only the second unseeded player to win Wimbledon, though Krajicek had a seeded place in the draw, replacing the No 2 Thomas Muster when he withdrew before the tournament. Krajicek defeated the holder Pete Sampras and the former champion Michael Stich to get to the final. "I was surprised I wasn't seeded," he said. "But I think maybe I'll be seeded next year."

Stop hiring our doctors, Mandela tells Britain

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent

MINISTERS have summoned leaders of Britain's hospital trusts and urged them to stop recruiting doctors from South Africa because of the impact on its health service. The move came ahead of the state visit to London by Nelson Mandela, the South African president, which starts today. Whitehall is not commenting on suggestions Mr Mandela raised the issue with Downing Street in advance of his visit. But a Department of Health spokesman said: "It was passed through to the NHS that there were concerns."

Hospital trusts have been going overseas in search of doctors and nurses because of acute shortages, particularly in anaesthetics and some other specialties. Trusts in Rotherham, Great Yarmouth and Llanelli have been among those recruiting in South Africa. The South African health department has complained at moves to "poach our scarce resources to provide care for the British people at the heavy expense of our disadvantaged South Africans."

Problems have been exacerbated by the surging demand for doctors in parts of South Africa denied proper health care under apartheid. The British health department has confirmed that Gerald Malone, the Health Minister, last month called in leaders of the two organisations representing NHS trusts to discuss the protests. "Mr Malone recently met with leaders of the NHS Trust Federation and the National Association of Health Authorities and Trusts and they have agreed to draw their members' attention to the potential effect on the South African health care system," a spokesman said. "A similar message has been conveyed to regional directors of the NHS."

"While we are not making any formal restrictions on the ability of the NHS to compete in the free medical labour market, we do hope that the informal action may make the NHS more aware of the difficulties in South Africa."

South Africa has been a popular hunting ground for trusts seeking doctors because medical training there is highly rated compared with many other overseas countries. Philip Hunt, director of the National Association of Health Authorities and Trusts, said: "South African doctors are of good quality and are very attractive for hospital trusts which are finding real problems of shortages."

"I told Mr Malone that we are sympathetic to the difficulties of the South African health service, and will draw our members' attention to them, but that at the end of the day it is up to individual trusts to make their own decisions."



DOCTOR WILLIE WITH HIS SCIENCE 'LEFT' TO BURNT

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Survey reveals extent of Church schism on gays

Madeline Buntings, Religious Affairs Editor

TWO-THIRDS of the General Synod believe that the Church of England's current position on homosexuality - whereby practising homosexuality is tolerated amongst laity but not clergy - smacks of double standards, according to a Guardian survey. Of members of Synod, the governing body of the Church of England, more than half (70 per cent of clergy members and 46 per cent of laity) said that they knew of clergy who were practising homosexuals. But the confusion in the

Church is illustrated by the fact that more than two-thirds think the Church should not be ordaining them and more than half of Synod do not even consider that being a practising homosexual is compatible with Christianity. The survey comes only weeks after Lord Runcie admitted he had followed an approach of "don't ask, don't tell" towards ordaining homosexuals during his time as Archbishop of Canterbury from 1990 to 1991. Synod members are due to meet at the end of this week in York, and a private member's motion on the subject, which has gathered 140 signatures, is unlikely to be debated until the autumn. But the subject will be in members' minds after bitter debate provoked by plans for a festival of gay and lesbian Christianity with a celebration in Southwark Cathedral in November to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement. More than half of those who responded to the survey said they want the subject discussed in Synod within the next five years. But the indication is that this might lead to a toughening of the Church's stance, rather than any further liberalisation. There is a hefty majority (73.9 per cent) against the blessing

of homosexual marriages and 62 per cent are against ordination of practising homosexuals. Nearly a third of Synod members considered they had a responsibility to report members of clergy who are practising homosexuals to the bishop, although another third endorsed a Runcie-style "don't ask, don't tell" approach. A spokesman for the Church of England admitted that the number of Synod members who know actively practising homosexuals was "surprisingly high". He added: "This is a complex issue and people are very confused and divided over it. Hopefully the ongoing debate in the Church will help to clarify matters."

But the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement claimed the figures show a steadily increasing support. "We are enormously encouraged. Thirty per cent believe the Church should be ordaining practising homosexuals. Ten years ago, people said we would never achieve that kind of figure, and that it was cloud cuckoo land."

Reform, the evangelical grouping, claimed that the findings demonstrated that the majority still believed homosexuality to be wrong. But it warned that with 70 per cent of clergy knowing prac-

tising homosexuals who are ordained, the problem was assuming "acute proportions". Phillip Hacking, chairman of Reform, said: "I have to use the word split. People can't continue in a church where the leadership won't bite the bullet. The Church has to stand by biblical authority."

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# Strange love, or how I learned not to worry

Lincoln Cathedral is riven by controversy, but with hostilities in abeyance yesterday's service contained talk of making accommodation, despite hints of divine irony

### Monday sketch



David Ward

**T**HE only person who can sack the warring Dean and Sub-dean of Lincoln Cathedral appears to be the Almighty. He, working in his usual mysterious way, is saying nothing, but he does appear to be dropping some pretty big hints.

Some of those who yesterday took their places for worship in the cathedral's late 14th century oak choir stalls may have wondered whether they might see a display of divine power such as the conflagration that engulfed York Minster, allegedly in response to the appointment of a controversial Bishop of Durham.

Perhaps there was an awful warning in verse 18 of psalm 77 sung by the chorists (14 boys and 10 men) at matins: "The voice of thy thunders was in the heaven, the lightnings

lightened the world, the earth trembled and shook. Those with long memories may even have recalled the great Lincoln earthquake of 1185, which destroyed much of the original Norman cathedral.

But the earth did not shake yesterday; there were no flames of retribution, no thunderbolts. So, for the time being, it remains up to mortal men to sort out a problem which has run for seven years, and which, according to some gloomy insiders, could last for all eternity.

Last week the Archbishop of Canterbury, who described as a scandal the feud between the Dean, the Very Rev Brandon Jackson, and the Sub-Dean, Canon Rex Davis, urged both men to go quietly.

Canon Davis has refused and has promised to tell us why this week; Dean Jackson is seeking guidance in prayer. Yesterday was a working day for Canon Davis, and he officiated, in a cape of green and embroidered cream, at a sung eucharist and preached at matins, pausing between services for refreshment with communicants in the coffee shop.

His only direct reference to the events depicted by his own newsletter: "Given the amount of media attention to



Cloistered calm at Lincoln Cathedral, but an ecclesiastical row rumbles on behind the scenes PHOTOGRAPH: CHRIS THOMSON

Lincoln this week, you will be relieved to know from the start of this letter that, the Dean being on holiday, the Sub-Dean will not make any further reference to the matter.

The Almighty, however, was having nothing to do with this no comment stuff. Listen to the epistle read at the cou-

munion service yesterday, the fifth Sunday after Trinity. "Be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another, love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous; not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing... For he that will love life, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no

guile..." And what of the hymns that echoed round those ancient limestone walls? The first line of one spoke of peace but was set to the tune associated with Fight the Good Fight.

The third verse of another referred to the storm of us and the dark clouds before us. Number 458 tells us that

Christ sends forth to us priests to consecrate the world of time (and not, one may infer, to have extended punches with each other). All this surely proves that the Good Lord has a finely developed sense of irony.

Many of the faithful are understandably keeping their heads down. One finished his

post-eucharist coffee and headed out past the statue of Lord Tennyson (a local lad), casting behind him a masterpiece of understatement: "The cathedral manages extremely well, but you would be blind not to notice certain frictions at the top."

Charles White, who comes almost every week with his wife, Pamela, refused to condemn either turbulent priest: "Good luck to them. They are not doing any harm and are right to state their opinions."

And one woman described the only course of action open to her: "Everybody should pray for a right solution and not judge others. I stand for God and I talk to Him. I think you have to find your own self within you and each individual is so different."

One non-attending local businessman was not prepared to be so charitable. He recited a rude limerick about a verger and added: "I have lived in two cathedral cities, Winchester and Lincoln, and there has been the same snobbery, the same feeling of superiority round both cathedrals. It's all bullshit."

Canon Davis's sermon spoke feelingly of a series of personal conversions — to pentecostalism, ecumenism, the women's ministry — and compared them to falling in love. He added that one could

even be converted to a cathedral. Before being appointed to Lincoln, he had worked at the edge of the church, studying new religious movements, preaching in far-flung places.

"When I came here, I felt a little as if God had played an enormous joke on me," he confessed. "I suddenly found myself in this great hulking place with its somewhat stultifying beauty and the regularity of its ways, of what can even be thought of as the boring routine of Anglican ordinariness."

But just as love develops, so conversion comes; the Sub-Dean learned to love his cathedral in 1982, while attending a conference in the United States.

In his blessing, Canon Davis invoked the name of St Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln from 1186 to 1200. Hugh, according to popular legend, was an excessive admirer of holy relics. He once visited Peccamp Abbey in France and bit off a chunk of Mary Magdalene's arm.

St Hugh's successor, the Rt Rev Robert Hardy, keeps not relics but a small collection of Dinky toys and a boomerang in his study. Lord knows what the toy cars symbolise; but the boomerang suggests an intractable problem, one that comes flying back just when you thought you had got rid of it.

School's stance gives Major ammunition as parties battle for education vote □ Labour leader neutral in debate on 'annual beauty contest'



John McIntosh, headmaster

**'If they meant the school as it is now were to be destroyed, we would need to look at options which could include becoming an independent school'**



London Oratory school, which would consider becoming independent under a Labour government PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN APPELS

## Blair headmaster accused of inept politicking

### Threat to switch to fee-paying school to avoid party's policies

**J**ohn Carvel, Education Editor

**L**ABOUR last night accused the headmaster of the state school where Tony Blair sends his older son of "inept and clumsy politicking" after he warned that it might become a private fee-paying establishment to escape the education policies of a Labour government.

John McIntosh, head of the London Oratory grammar-maintained school attended by Euan Blair, said in a statement that Labour policies threatened its character. "If they meant that the

school as it is now were to be destroyed, we would need to look at a range of options, which could include becoming an independent school," he said.

The intervention appeared calculated to needle Mr Blair, who attracted criticism in the party 18 months ago when he chose a grand-maintained Roman Catholic school before party policy was adjusted to come to terms with state schools opting out of local authority control.

David Blunkett, the shadow education secretary, responded by accusing Mr McIntosh of misrepresenting Labour proposals

to make a stir. "He is behaving as if he owned the school clearly he does not. I think it is absolute bluff. It is a piece of rather inept and clumsy politicking to try to embarrass Tony Blair."

Mr McIntosh's intervention gave the Conservatives fresh ammunition by opening up the prospect of a Labour prime minister with a son at an independent school while the party's commitment to state education makes it unthinkable.

Mr McIntosh has been one of the most outspoken advocates of state schools opting out of local authority control. Yesterday he expressed "serious concern" about Labour's plan to offer grant-maintained schools the opportunity to

convert to "foundation status".

Most of the Oratory's governors were appointed by its trustees who guarantee the ethos of the school. That control would be lost under Labour, he said.

The party also appeared committed to neighbourhood schools, admitting pupils from their local area. That would inevitably force changes on the Oratory, which takes its 1,200 boys from throughout London and beyond.

Going independent would be a big step for a grant-maintained school. It would lose state funding and would have to rely completely on fees and charitable income.

Mr Blunkett said the Oratory opted out of voluntary-aided church school status

because Mr McIntosh did not want the diocesan authorities to have direction over the school.

Foundation status under a Labour government, he added, would not affect the ethos of the school unless Mr McIntosh harboured an ambition to make it wholly selective.

Sir Robert Balchin, chairman of the Grant-Maintained Schools Foundation, said he did not expect large numbers of schools to flee the state sector under a Labour government. "The London Oratory would have to look for pupils from an even wider area. But if any schools could pull it off, I would say they would be one."

4,000 teachers to go', page 4

## Shadow elections left in MPs' hands

Michael White Political Editor

**T**ONY Blair last night left it open to Labour MPs to decide whether or not to risk the annual autumn ritual of shadow cabinet elections so close to what could turn into real elections against the Conservatives.

Mr Blair's office reacted with studied neutrality to reports that up to 100 backbenchers are backing Andrew Mackinlay's call for the shadow elections to be held in November as usual.

Sooner than that, Mr Blair and John Major are adopting a common approach on whether or not MPs and ministers should get pay rises of up to 30 per cent, "fat cat" awards or catch-up payments after a decade of parliamentary cowardice, according to taste.

Both are urging rejection of Wednesday night's free vote, in favour of a 3 per cent rise. But there are strong signs that enough backbenchers on

all sides feel sufficiently hard-done-by to ignore that advice.

Privately some ministers and shadow ministers agree. They are likely to find excuses to 'abstain to avoid "split" talk. The shadow elections pose smaller problems. Last week's row over the devolution referendum reminded Mr Blair that his Road to the Manifesto statement needs unity if voters are to stay impressed.

In private, the Labour leader and his allies would almost certainly prefer the annual beauty contest to be called off as a potential distraction. It could result in Blairite MPs — notably Harriet Harman — being voted off to remind Mr Blair not to take the troops for granted.

Scope for mischief was underlined yesterday by the kind of media reports which make Labour MPs fret. Loudly discounted was a claim that Mr Blair plans to win two elections and then stand down at 50. It suggests a degree of confidence about the next election that Mr Blair studiously avoids.

On the shadow cabinet, Mr

Mackinlay, MP for Thurrock, claims the support of 100 colleagues across the spectrum. Some doubt that all those votes would resist an impassioned plea for unity, but left-winger Tony Banks yesterday told BBC1's Breakfast with Frost: "It will be most surprising if they [the leadership] push this, but if they do, I think it will get turned over very heavily."

The issue will be discussed at Wednesday's shadow cabinet and by the weekly meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party on July 17.

John Reid, the defence spokesman, who first floated the suspension idea, intends to press MPs for a decision. "Our sole aim should be the defeat of the Conservatives, not the defeat of shadow cabinet members," he said.

The shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, told Sky News there was no proposal to abandon the elections, but that could change with an early general election.

Tory challenges Blair gurus, page 4; Leader comment, page 5; John Gray, page 9

## Wordy text leaves little space for music

### First night

Andrew Clements

**T**he Doctor of Myddfai Welsh National Opera, Cardiff

**W**ELSH National Opera's controversial decision to ask Manchester-born Peter Maxwell Davies to write an opera for its 50th anniversary rather than commissioning a composer from west of Offa's Dyke has been thoroughly vindicated. But The Doctor of Myddfai, which received its press preview in Cardiff on Friday — the official premiere

is at Llandudno on Wednesday — does have a Welsh origin.

It is built around a medieval legend about the healing powers of successive generations of doctors of Myddfai, even though David Pountney's libretto is located in the present day in an anonymous, bureaucratic state. What the opera is really about is harder to divine; it seems to be part Aida-allegory, part mad-cow parable, part anti-Euro diatribe.

The new Doctor of Myddfai is re-telling the old legend to his 12-year-old daughter, while a strange new disease is devastating the population — whenever anyone is struck a blow, or even kissed in the rain, a bruise spreads incur-

ably. When the Doctor goes to the government for help, he is treated with indifference and discovers he has taken on the magical powers of his predecessors. When he finally gets to see the Ruler himself and is again dismissed, he transforms himself into a woman from an escort agency, and manages to infect the Ruler with the disease.

The Ruler demands to be taken to a lake to be cured alongside his people; once there the doctor refuses to cure him and is trampled to death by the crowd. The Doctor's daughter now takes control, orders the Ruler to walk into the lake, and begins to dismantle the machinery of state.

Pountney's staging is a model

of clarity and directness, in spare, arresting designs by Huntley/Muir. Yet his text is prolix — there are just too many words to put over, with not enough space for the music to expand around them. But Davies's music, beautifully paced after slightly plodding opening scenes, takes maximum advantage of what expressive room there is.

Dramatically the opera pivots about the two crucial confrontations between the Doctor and the Ruler; the musical roots are two hymns sung in Welsh in the first scene of each act. This raw material generates some moments of high tension power, especially in the interludes, which recall the best of Davies's recent orches-

tral music. Yet his palette is wide — there are exquisite washes of colour, and vivid, sharp-pitched echoes of the vocal lines in the orchestra.

The Doctor of Myddfai is only Davies's second full-scale opera, and will be, he says, his last. That's a pity. There aren't many other British composers around who could plot a stage work so convincingly, and understand the relationship between drama and music so well. But if it is his farewell to the opera house, it is a satisfying one, done full justice by the orchestra of WNO under Richard Armstrong, and a cast led by Paul Whelan's forthright Doctor, Gwynne Howell's weak-willed Ruler, and Lisa Tyrell's touching Child.

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JP 11/10/96

Full equality and more involvement in active service for female soldiers agreed in principle, but top brass balk at final push to front line fighting until 'society as a whole is ready'

David Fairhall on a policy revision



Women cadets at the Sandhurst military academy take part in the Sovereign's Parade. They could soon get an enhanced front line role

PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

# Army to step up women's combat roles



A woman soldier in the US Marine Corps arrives at a Saudi Arabian air base during the Gulf War in 1990

**T**HE army's top brass have decided in principle that women should be allowed to fight in the front line. However, they are holding back from instituting this final form of equal opportunity because they believe British society as a whole is not yet ready for it.

In a report that will shortly go to the Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo, the Army Board has recommended that everything but the infantry and the armoured corps should immediately be opened up to women. This means female soldiers could find themselves serving in Bosnia with the sappers or the artillery, not just driving a truck or operating a radio.

Even then, however, commanders will be expected to exercise some discretion — for example, by posting women to the gun lines but not sending them right forward to an exposed artillery observation post.

Nor is there any immediate prospect of their being involved in what soldiers call "the final brutal business" of hand-to-hand combat.

Two considerations are driving the army forward in the direction of complete sexual equality — a serious shortage of recruits, and the way in which some service women have recently exploited European equal opportunities law.

The Army Board's first instinct in conducting its latest review of the situation was to



Woman soldier in Israel, where emphasis is put on lessening chances of capture

remove all formal barriers and let women decide for themselves whether they wanted to go "over the top". Units would also be able to exercise discretion by setting physical training targets that women would be unlikely to meet.

In the event, pending more public discussion and probably a parliamentary debate, the generals have taken refuge in the idea of preserving "combat effectiveness". In practice, this means not putting women in the direct line of fire, and trying to lessen their chances of capture — a point on which the Israeli army, which uses many women, puts great emphasis. "But when the nation is ready," said one senior officer yesterday, "we will go the whole hog."

Britain's armed forces have taken enormous strides

## Abuse and torture are political risks governments fear most

Sarah Boseley

**T**HERE they are on the parade grounds of Europe and the world, hair pulled tightly off their faces, uniforms immaculate and guns gleaming. But while women soldiers may rank highly and perform outstandingly, few are ever to be seen at the mud and gore end of soldiering.

In theory, Britain is one of the last countries in Europe with an official ban on women going to the front line, along with Portugal and Greece. But in fact, there are very few women soldiers indeed in Italy and those in Germany are restricted to the medical centre or the military band.

In both countries, the barrier is mostly a traditional and cultural one. Italian women, said a male Italian general at a conference on women in Nato forces a couple of years ago, seemed not to be much interested in serving in the army.

There were calls in Germany yesterday by the junior partners in Chancel-

lor Helmut Kohl's coalition government for women to be allowed into all areas of military service, including armed units. The defence minister, Volker Rucht, a Christian Democrat, dismissed the idea of women in combat out of hand.

The official barriers to women who want to fight have been pulled down by Canada, Belgium, Holland and Norway, where any soldier can apply for a combat role regardless of gender. Women are very visible in the Israeli army, where they fight alongside the men. Even so, there are restrictions on where Israeli women soldiers are sent, for fear that they could be captured by Palestinian fighters.

The concept of women in enemy hands, of women being tortured, is a hard one for all governments. In the United States army, where women are more equal and more numerous than anywhere in the world — they had about 40,000 in the Gulf War, compared with 1,500 from the UK, 240 from Canada and 60 from Belgium — the ugly spectre did indeed raise its head. Two women were captured by the Iraqis and one was believed to have been raped, but very little was made of it.

If women want to fight, the logic runs, then they must take the risks that men take — of death, injury, abuse and torture.

## Union leaders warn BA not to use foreign pilots to break strike

Keith Harper and Sue Quinn

**A**NY attempt by British Airways to use foreign crews to break the all-out pilots' strike scheduled for July 16 will be blocked, leaders of the proposed stoppage warned last night.

The warning came after BA refused yesterday to rule out using foreign pilots to cover for British Airline Pilots' Association's (Balpa) 3,300 members who are planning an indefinite stoppage over pay. "We are making contingency plans to cover every eventuality," a BA spokesman said.

Balpa said the idea was "doomed to failure": BA would not be able to gain approval to use foreign pilots to fly the company's 85,000 daily travellers, and any attempt to

do so would accelerate the dispute.

Chris Darke, Balpa's general secretary, was adamant that BA would be unable to circumvent the strike by hiring foreign crews. "The fact is that before a foreign pilot could fly a BA aircraft they would have to be assessed by a BA training captain, the vast majority of whom are Balpa members who, of course, will be on strike," he said.

Balpa has also contacted the International Federation of Airline Pilots' Associations to ensure that foreign pilots do not work for BA.

The International Transport Federation has been called on to request that ground crews in international airports refuse to handle BA planes piloted by non-union members once the strike starts.

This has been done to head

off possible plans by BA to call on 650 non-union pilots to work in the event of a dispute.

Mr Darke insisted that Balpa had a long working relationship with international colleagues and this would be good enough to frustrate BA's plans.

Balpa claims the walkout will cost BA \$40 million a day and will virtually ground its entire fleet. But the airline and travel agents are continuing to take telephone bookings for BA flights. Balpa has been encouraging other airlines to run extra flights to help holidaymakers get to their destinations.

Both sides could find themselves at Acas, the conciliation service, if the dispute is not resolved before the end of the week.

The airline unions are increasingly concerned about their position in the industry.

Some fear that BA is preparing to face them down in a confrontation.

The transport unions are one of the last bastions of trade union control, and a number of union leaders have watched while BA has taken a more aggressive attitude toward their members. The most striking example of this has been in new working methods for pilots in Europe.

BA may take legal action to prevent the strike. It said that a separate offer to pilots at Gatwick has not been considered by Balpa's membership, and that the union needs to consult all pilots before proceeding with its strike.

Balpa's reaction to this is that a 9 per cent offer to Gatwick pilots includes a 10 per cent increase in productivity, which means that its pilots at Gatwick would be worse off under the proposed deal.

## IRA attack suspect 'did not receive army bomb training'

Owen Bowcott and Ian Traynor in Bonn

**M**ICHAEL Dickson, the ex-sapper who allegedly spearheaded the IRA mortar attack on Osnabruck barracks, would not have learned bomb-making in the Royal Engineers, an army spokesman insisted yesterday.

The training would have taught him how to locate and clear areas around mines or booby-traps, but would not have given him a detailed knowledge of explosives, said Lieutenant-Colonel Jan-Diet Merveldt, the senior army spokesman in Germany. "He may have got to know a bit

about bombs through basic awareness training, but sappers move construction equipment around and are plumbers, drivers and diggers."

The hunt for the 31-year-old former soldier and his four republican colleagues switched back across the Irish Sea at the weekend after a car thought to belong to him was seized by the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Portlaoine.

Since German detectives issued the suspects' descriptions to Interpol, the search for the IRA active service unit — two of whose other members are said to be called Mark and Beth — has in-

volved police forces across Europe.

No one was hurt in the mortar attack on the British army barracks in Osnabruck on June 28, which marked the reopening of the IRA's campaign in Europe. Until then, there had been a six-year lull in attacks on British bases abroad.

The alleged presence of a former serviceman in the ranks of the IRA highlights another intermittent feature of the Troubles. If Dickson, whose family came from Glasgow, was responsible for the attack, he will be neither the first Scot nor the first ex-soldier in the Provisionals.

Few details of Dickson's

past life emerged yesterday, but it was known he spent most of his service life from 1961 to 1968 with 44 Field Support Squadron, 38th regiment Royal Engineers, at Hameln in Germany, and was a fluent German speaker. He had not served in Northern Ireland but had visited the Osnabruck base where another Royal Engineers regiment is based.

After leaving the army he worked as a security guard in London.

German investigators say "at least" five persons — three males and two females — comprised the active service unit involved. They may now have returned to Ireland.

**Although the Royal Opera House is not a PR firm, the impression remains that Peter Gummer has been brought in as much for his presentational skills as his managerial nous.**  
Dan Glaister



MUM, LEE & KYLIE.

# 4 BRITAIN

## News in brief

### 4,000 teachers 'to be made redundant'

NEARLY one in 10 schools in England and Wales is threatening redundancies at the end of this term and 4,000 teachers could lose their jobs, the Association of Teachers and Lecturers said yesterday, indicating a further rise in class sizes at the start of the next academic year.

Extrapolating from a survey of 6,000 schools, the association estimated that 4,000 teachers would have got warning of redundancy notices by May 31, the annual deadline for issuing statutory notices. The figure is almost as high as last year in spite of assurances from the Government that budgets were being increased to prevent a further climb in class sizes.

The survey found job losses in all types of school, but the secondary sector would bear the highest proportion. Many more posts would be shed through teachers being forced to take early retirement due to ill health and not being replaced. "The feeling factor for teachers and parents remains as elusive as ever. Job insecurity is bad enough, but equally worrying is the inevitable racking up again of class sizes this September. Once more teachers and parents are paying the price of continued underfunding," said Peter Smith, the association's general secretary. — *John Carvel*

### British beef 'sold illegally'

THE German health ministry in Bonn confirmed at the weekend that the European Commission has been asked to follow up claims that British beef is being delivered illegally to mainland Europe. The 16 federal states of Germany have also been ordered to tighten their import controls on beef.

The German ambassador in Rome, in a letter to the ministry last week, complained that exports were reaching Italy via Scotland, Ireland, and France, and spoke of "large scale" cheating on the European Union's export ban. According to the German press, the ambassador said forged health certification and false contents descriptions were used to mask the suspect goods. "An attempt to bring a meat delivery — declared as potatoes — into Italy was uncovered," the letter stated.

The BSE crisis has decimated sales of beef in Germany, and Bonn has been among the hardliners in the EU in its insistence on not easing the exports ban until Britain has proven it has eradicated the risks. A leading member of the government of the state of Hessen has said that beef consumers had to be protected against "criminal intriguing" and that the commission should renew the ban on exports of cattle byproducts such as bull semen, tallow, and gelatine. — *Ian Traynor in Bonn*

### Mayhew to quit at election

The Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, confirmed yesterday that he will stand down as MP for Tunbridge Wells at the election, reviving speculation that John Major may decide to replace him when he "reaches" his ministerial term before the summer recess. Sir Patrick told a constituency meeting in Tunbridge, Kent, on Friday that he will be leaving after representing them for 22 years. His impregnable 17,132 majority will trigger a rush to be his successor.

Whether the Prime Minister will take the opportunity to shake up his Cabinet, as well as lower ministerial posts later this month, is uncertain. Sir Patrick is believed to want to stay on at Stormont, but his deputy, Michael Ancram, would offer a smooth and generally popular successor.

Having given Mr Major his first leg up the promotion ladder, as his unpaid PPS in the early 80s, Sir Patrick is seen as a chum. At 66 he is one of the oldest members of the Cabinet and the nearest colleague Mr Major has to a Willie Whitelaw figure, to whom he can turn for wise and disinterested advice. — *Michael White*

### Black pupils 'face dole queue'

ONE in three black school-leavers face the dole this summer, twice as many as whites, according to a report today from the TUC. The situation was worse in Greater London, where four out of 10 blacks leaving school are likely to be jobless this summer. The report showed that unemployment among young black people was running at 35.2 per cent in Britain last summer, compared with 15.8 per cent among whites. The report was published as the TUC stepped up its anti-racism campaign, which includes the release today of a record, *Respect*, by artists include Jimmy Somerville, Right Said Fred and IncoGNiTo. The TUC is also staging a free music and entertainment festival in London on July 20 as part of its campaign.

### Germ peril of dish cloths

AFTER one day's normal use the average reusable dish cloth contains more than a billion bacteria — equivalent to the number in a typical kitchen sink U-bend, say researchers at Westminster University, London. Some of the samples tested harboured salmonella and coliform bacteria which can cause food poisoning and conjunctivitis. Rinsing a cloth under hot water would not kill most of the germs and could even help to spread bacteria to the hands, said the researchers. They concluded that paper towels should be used for wiping all kitchen spills. If reusable cloths were used, they should be disinfected at least once a day either by washing at a temperature of at least 70C or by soaking in bleach.

### Stamps go up by penny

FROM today the price of a first class stamp will increase from 26p to 27p, while a second class stamp will go from 19p to 20p. It is the first rise in more than 2½ years. The Post Office chairman, Sir Michael Heron, said yesterday that the rise was caused by an "exacting" cash demand from the Treasury of £925 million over the next three years. "The stamp price increase is necessary solely because of the unprecedented cash demand on the Post Office by the Government," the Trade President, Ian Lang, said the price of stamps will be lower in real terms than five years ago.

### Jackpot is rolled over

SATURDAY'S £11.1 million National Lottery jackpot will be rolled over to make an estimated jackpot of £20 million this coming Saturday. Eleven people won £311,182 by matching five of the numbers 44, 47, 45, 43, 26 and 13, with the bonus number, 36.

Conservative thinker sets out to demolish 'dangerous and wrong' ideas behind Labour's revival

# Tory challenges Blair gurus

Michael White  
Political Editor

LABOUR'S revival under Tony Blair's leadership owes its intellectual respectability to six core propositions about Britain's place in the modern world which are dangerous and wrong, a leading Tory intellectual says today.

Without the work of eight influential gurus on themes such as globalisation, stakeholding and constitutional reform, the Labour leader's speeches would not be given their "quite exaggerated respect," according to David Willetts, a former think tank guru and now junior public

services minister at the Cabinet Office.

Mr Blair's utterances are "almost entirely mood music, with some rather grandiose assertions mixed in". What gives them weight are key buzz words.

These include "community" — under threat from "globalisation" of the economy and job "insecurity" which generates social insecurity and crime; "short-termism" which is a central fault of Anglo-Saxon finance capitalism; "stakeholder" as a means of reforming business and welfare to make them more "inclusive"; as well as "constitutional reform" as an antidote to Tory "centralisation". Mr Willetts's eight targets

are Frank Field, the Labour MP for Birkenhead and welfare expert; Peter Mandelson, spin-doctor, author and MP for Hartlepool; Professor John Kay, exponent of stakeholding; Will Hutton, Guardian economic columnist turned Observer editor; Andrew Marr, editor of the Independent; John Gray, ex-Thatcherite Oxford don; Professor David Marquand, formerly of the SDP and, surprisingly, Simon Jenkins, Tory ex-editor of the Times. He is included because of his book, *Accountable to None*, which describes the centralisation of key powers, chiefly at the expense of local government and other intermediate bodies, in the 80s. Mr Willetts, MP for Havant

since 1992, calls the eight "spiritual cousins of those great British eccentrics who travelled abroad, taking up native costumes and living among the Bedouin, leading the cause of Greek nationalism, or preserving the old folk songs of dying tribes. It is the desire not to be British which drives their agenda". Instead of working with the grain of Britain's unique strengths and weaknesses, they seek German corporate structures, Japanese industrial long-termism, Singapore's welfare system and the judicial and constitutional traditions of the European Union. Mr Blair's contradictions stem from his acceptance that "on all the big issues of the

past 15 years the Conservatives have indeed been right" while attempting to denounce Thatcherite values. Mr Willetts's main arguments are: On globalisation, job exports to the Third World are exaggerated, the flexible British labour market is scarcely less secure than 20 years ago, and yields more jobs than the European social chapter model; Stakeholding fails to acknowledge potential conflict between stakeholders or the strengths of market-driven companies; On welfare reform Labour wishes to remove the disincentives to work which are inherent in means-testing while extending it to pension-

ers and 16-18-year-olds. Allegations of Tory centralisation fail to recognise the more open way Britain is governed or the way the Tories have delegated decisions to schools, hospitals etc. Critics fail to recognise the power of judicial review to constrain ministers; and constitutional reform is offered as a panacea for Britain's ills. Labour's faith in education and training implies that equality of opportunity will lead to greater equality of outcome when there is no such guarantee. Blair's Gurus, Centre for Policy Studies, £7.50 from 52 Rochester Row, London SW1P 1JU. John Gray, page 9



Labour thinkers (from left): Will Hutton, editor of the Observer; John Gray, Oxford don; Frank Field MP; and John Kay, exponent of stakeholding

## What David Willetts, Tory guru and junior minister, thinks of Labour's intellectuals

- On Will Hutton:** "He accuses the City of failing to recognise the true value of long-term investment... if Hutton believes that, then he knows how to become a very rich man indeed. He should set up the William Hutton Long-Term Investment Fund."
- On John Gray:** "Gray's analysis leads him towards protectionism and environmentalism as ways of erecting barriers against the force of the international economy. The obvious parallels are... Sir James Goldsmith and Ross Perot."
- On John Kay:** "The more cynical observers of Tony Blair may suggest that it is [the] absence of any clear policy descriptions which make John Kay so appealing to Blair and the people around him. It enables Blair... to give a vague sense of being concerned."
- On Frank Field:** "He is many Conservatives' favourite Labour politician... he understands as few on the left have done that... ultimately the social security system can shape people's behaviour and must be subject to moral scrutiny."
- On Peter Mandelson:** "Mandelson's book blithely jumbles up equality of outcome, equality of opportunity, social cohesion, and a narrowing of the earnings distribution, and more spending... to be taken seriously these ideas need some sort of rigour."
- On David Marquand:** "Marquand was a Blairite before Blair was a Blairite... he is an admirer of Continental social democracy just as Blair is... Britain is seen as somehow stuck in the past, trapped by its history, whereas it should be copying more modern countries."

## High-level talks spark fears Labour may renege on pledge to restore GCHQ union rights

MEMBERS of the shadow cabinet have had private talks with staff at GCHQ in a move that could lead to a Labour government recognising the management-approved body set up after Mrs Thatcher imposed a trades union ban at the secret intelligence-gathering centre. The 12-year fight to restore free trades unions at GCHQ has great symbolic importance in the labour movement, and the talks may spark fears that Tony Blair will renege on his pledge to restore full union rights at the Cheltenham centre. David Blunkett, Michael Meacher and Stephen Byers, Labour's front bench employment team, recently had a meeting at his request with Brian Moore, chairman of the management-approved Government Communications Staff Federation. But one of the Labour team described the issue as a minefield. Faced with the threat of being named by the International Labour Organisation in a procedure normally reserved for military dictatorships, the cabinet last year dropped a management veto over the association's activities. The trades union certification officer is now considering whether to grant the independent official independent status. According to Mr Moore, the association represents more than 51 per cent of GCHQ staff — the shadow cabinet's criterion for trades union recognition. Mr Moore said last week that Labour's employment spokesman indicated it was a matter for GCHQ staff which body they wanted to join in the event of a Labour election victory. However, Mr Blunkett yesterday insisted he "had not promised anything at all". He and his colleagues "just listened", he said — Labour's new commitment on the 51 per cent threshold. Civil service union leaders, whose members at GCHQ were told to leave their unions or the centre, are divided on how to respond to Mr Moore's approaches. The PTC union, which had most members at GCHQ, is taking a hard line, while leaders of the CPSA, the largest civil service union, have made it clear they want to prepare for a settlement.

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*John Gray 1996*

July 11 1996

# Poetic spirit of '65 fades into a Blur

Fiachra Gibbons at the Albert Hall

POETRY is dead. The wake was at the Royal Albert Hall last night. Not even Damon Albarn, the bard of Britpop, could save it.

Hyped as The Superjam: A Hip Mass, the nine-hour reading was supposed to celebrate pop poetry's coming of age. But it turned out more like a revival meeting of some dying sect. The old, the very young, and a smattering of the terminally sad in between.

It started ominously. A middle-aged woman singing in Japanese to her own echo, another omming "Steve Elko ... ommmmm ... Ken Saro Wiwa ..." to an almost empty auditorium.

Michael Horowitz, grandmaster of what he called "this Bardstock", blew a "strange little horn", his "Anglophone" to summon up the spirit of 1965, when he packed the hall with the beat generation, and for one night poetry was proclaimed the new rock 'n' roll.

"Let's levitate the place!" he shouted in his white flares, looking like he belonged down the road in the Natural History Museum with the T-rex.

All the old stages of performance poetry were there. Roger McGough, now a grandfather, looked faintly embarrassed. The Irish poet Brendan Kennel read, appropriately, from his new collection, Poetry My Arse.

You would never have thought that British poetry was in the middle of its strongest revival since the 1930s.

Among the lineup of 60 was Patti Smith, high priestess of the "punk rock" era, who, in a spectacular performance, just about managed to make up the rhythm section of the band on the Titanic.



Poets cornered ... Patti Smith: 'Should I start counting the audience?' and Roger McGough, faintly embarrassed by 'Bardstock' attempt to revive 1965. PHOTOGRAPH: KIPPA MATTHEWS

## Hardliners' dwindling voice against ordination of homosexual clergy

# Gay debate the synod bishops do not want

Madeline Bunting Religious Affairs Editor

THE Guardian's survey of General Synod members on homosexuality will make awkward reading for the bishops. Sixty-five per cent of the Church of England's governing body gave the House of Bishops 1991 report, Issues in Human Sexuality, the thumbs down. The compromise document asserts that active homosexuality can be tolerated among the laity but not among the clergy, but synod says this is not coherent.

Homosexuality is the synod debate the House of Bishops does not want. Its 1991 report has yet to come before synod, and according to the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement, the synod policy committee has produced an 18 page briefing document about how to keep the matter off the agenda.

The fear is, as several synod members responding to the survey wrote, that any debate will generate "far more heat than light". This is a subject on which passions run deep because it strikes at the heart of how people view the Bible.

If every word of the Bible is true and comes directly from God, then passages of Leviticus are clear on buggery and sodomy, declare the hardline

### Church homosexuality survey

<p>Is the Church's current position towards homosexuality coherent?</p> <p>Yes 30.5%</p> <p>No 69.5%</p>	<p>Is Christianity compatible with being a practising homosexual?</p> <p>Yes 40.4%</p> <p>No 59.6%</p>
<p>Would you like to discuss homosexuality in the lifetime of this General Synod?</p> <p>Yes 55.5%</p> <p>No 44.5%</p>	<p>Should the Church ordain practising homosexuals?</p> <p>Yes 30.0%</p> <p>No 70.0%</p>
<p>Do you know of any clergy who are practising homosexuals?</p> <p>Yes 55.5%</p> <p>No 44.5%</p>	<p>Should clergy be able to bless homosexual relationships?</p> <p>Yes 20.5%</p> <p>No 79.5%</p>
<p>Do you consider you have a responsibility to report to the bishop about clergy who are practising homosexuals?</p> <p>Yes 27.5%</p> <p>No 72.5%</p>	<p>Would it be fair to characterise your approach as one of 'don't ask don't tell'?</p> <p>Yes 31.1%</p> <p>No 68.9%</p>

evangelicals. The Church must hold to what is true, not follow the fashion of the day, is the rallying cry of synod members in the evangelical Reform group which has threatened to suspend its

biggest and wealthiest in the Church.

To avert that, the bishops have to tread a delicate line of refusing publicly to tolerate practising homosexuals among the clergy.

"If the Church openly accepts practising homosexuals for ordination, we would pull out of communion. The greater danger is that they'll keep fudging the issues. Homosexuals are being ordained, bishops must know and that is happening increasingly.

We're having to consider our position," said Phillip Hacking, chairman of Reform, a conservative evangelical group within the Church.

But the survey indicates that this hardline element is shrinking. Only 7 per cent of synod took the extreme stance of believing that "even celibate homosexuals need to be healed of their sexual orientation if they are to be fully accepted as Christians" and that not even celibate homosexuals should be ordained.

On a key question — is Christianity compatible with being a practising homosexual? — 40.4 per cent said yes, 59.6 per cent said no.

The clergy were more tolerant than the laity (49 per cent to 34 per cent) reflecting a general trend throughout the survey.

## Mandela's 'special' swansong

### Living legend's state visit aims to combine business and pleasure

David Beresford in Johannesburg

NELSON Mandela arrives in Britain tonight on a mission to turn his personal legend to economic advantage for South Africa.

The four-day state visit is seen as the beginning of a swansong by the African National Congress leader who, at 78 next month, appears to be focusing on ceremonial duties as he prepares for retirement.

Buckingham Palace has struggled to meet hundreds of requests for invitations to meet a man who spent 27

years in jail before being elected South Africa's first black president in 1994. Universities have fallen over themselves to award honorary degrees, and Parliament has accorded him the rare privilege of an address in 900-year-old Westminster Hall.

The visit has special significance given President Mandela's international standing, and it will set the seal on our relations with South Africa, a Buckingham Palace spokesman said.

Mr Mandela's journeys this week to Britain and France are expected to be followed by visits to Israel and Russia as he gradually cedes executive

authority in South Africa to his deputy, Thabo Mbeki.

Although a large proportion of foreign investment lost in the sanctions years has been recovered, and Britain has reassumed its position as the leading trading partner, there is anxiety in Pretoria that foreign enthusiasm for the South African "miracle" is beginning to falter.

The hope is that Mr Mandela will be able to give fresh impetus to international support for his country's economy — specifically in negotiations for favourable access to European Union markets.

Like all state visits, his will be heavy on pomp and ceremony. But Mr Mandela has also insisted on humble touches, including a tour of Brixton, south London — home to one of the capital's

biggest black communities. Meanwhile, instead of hosting a return banquet for the Queen, he has invited her to lunch at the Dorchester.

Mr Mandela said in a BBC television interview aired on Sunday that he would be "among his best friends in the world" in Britain, and was looking forward to staying at Buckingham Palace.

"It is a long way from the country villages in which I was born and brought up, but fortunately I will be in the company of a very gracious lady, Her Majesty the Queen.

"If I will be upset by the splendour of the palace, I am sure she is the type of lady who will put any country boy at rest," he said with the modesty that has made him one of the world's most popular leaders.

intellectual

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RAC

News in brief

**Assassin appeals against conviction**

THE MAN jailed for life for the assassination of the former Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, yesterday appealed to the supreme court to overturn his murder conviction.

Lawyers for Yigal Amir, aged 28, argued that evidence suggested another gunman was involved in the November attack.

Amir had admitted shooting Mr Rabin at a peace rally and an amateur video recording showed him firing three shots. Two bullets felled Rabin and a third wounded his bodyguard.

Defence lawyer Gabi Shahar told the three judges that Amir had placed nine bullets in his clip before setting out for the rally. After his arrest, police discovered eight bullets in his pistol. "We're saying that these facts point to at least a reasonable doubt that the death of Mr Rabin was caused by the appellant [Amir]," Mr Shahar said. He also pointed out that ballistics experts had testified at the trial that Mr Rabin was killed from a distance of between 10 inches and point-blank range while the tape showed that Amir was not that close.

Another defence lawyer argued that Mr Amir had intended only to paralyse Rabin. Shmuel Fleishman told the court Amir did not have the capacity to decide between right and wrong and asked the court to reduce the murder conviction to a lesser charge of manslaughter. — *Reuters, Jerusalem.*

**Gunmen kill 11 in Kashmir**

A GROUP of suspected Muslim separatist militants shot dead at least 11 migrant workers in India's Jammu and Kashmir state, police said yesterday.

The workers from other northern Indian states were killed on Saturday night as they slept in the village of Patakote in Kupwara district. The motive for the killings was not immediately clear but police say Kashmiri militants often target people they suspect of being government informers.

The massacre took place a few hours after the Indian prime minister, H. D. Deve Gowda, ended a visit to Kashmir, where his government wants to hold early state assembly polls. Dozens of separatist groups, either fighting for independence from India or a merger with Pakistan, have today elections. Mr Deve Gowda has called a meeting in New Delhi today of the leaders of all parties to discuss the dates for elections. — *Reuters, Srinagar.*

**Actor's death still a mystery**

MYSTERY still surrounds the death in Los Angeles of the Oscar-winning Cambodian actor, Eang Ngor, and it is possible that a murder case will be dismissed.

Later this month three Chinese gang members are due to face murder and robbery charges in a preliminary hearing, but detectives have not recovered the gun used in the February killing or a Rolex watch and gold chain said to have been stolen. The three teenagers have admitted to being in the area and on drugs at the time of Dr Ngor's death but deny killing him. Meanwhile, speculation surrounds Dr Ngor's anti-Khmer Rouge history in Cambodia. He was captured and tortured by the rebels, who also killed his wife. The prime minister of Cambodia, Hun Sen, has publicly blamed the Khmer Rouge for his death.

Doubts about the robbery persist because neither \$3,000 Dr Ngor had in a jacket pocket nor his Mercedes Benz car was stolen, despite the fact that the Chinese gang specialises in car-jackings. — *Christopher Reed, Los Angeles.*

**Albanians to form coalition**

THE Albanian president, Sali Berisha, who is under fire from the West after a general election widely criticised as unfair, said yesterday he would invite some opposition parties to join the new government.

"We are for a coalition government. We are ready to offer portfolios to them [but] first they have to express their will to participate," he said before meeting central and eastern European leaders in Salzburg.

Mr Berisha asked Aleksander Meksi of the ruling Democratic Party on Saturday to form a new government. The Democrats hold 121 seats in the 140-seat legislature.

The president said his Democratic Party was talking to three small opposition parties in the new parliament, but not the key Socialists, who refuse to accept the 10 seats they won in the election, which they denounced as a sham. — *Reuters, Salzburg.*



Sporting chance... A fighting bull rounds a corner as a fallen man takes cover during the first bull run of the San Fermin festival in Pamplona, Spain. PHOTOGRAPH: SANTIAGO LYON

**Turin Shroud old as Christ**

TWO scientists at Turin University say the shadow of an ancient copper coin overturns the results of tests showing that the Turin Shroud is a medieval fake dating from between 1260 and 1380.

If their findings are confirmed, then the Shroud, a linen sheet traditionally supposed to have been used to wrap Christ's body after the crucifixion, may very well date from around the time of Christ's death. The Shroud bears the imprint of a man's face and his wounded body. After several months' study, the two Turin scientists claim to have revealed the imprint of the coin, a lepton, on the linen above the left eyebrow of the face.

The coin bears the date of the 16th year of the reign of Emperor Tiberius, which corresponds to 29 AD, around the date that Christ is supposed to have died. — *John Glover, Milan.*



Honoured guest... President Jacques Chirac greets Saudi officials before a dinner at the palace of King Fahd in Jeddah yesterday. The French president, on a two-day official visit to Saudi Arabia, urged Israel to reveal whether it intends to pursue the Middle East peace process, warning that uncertainty encouraged political violence. PHOTOGRAPH: JEROME DELAY

**Government tries to stall foreign intervention to end ethnic killings  
OAU to focus on Burundi**

Chris McGreal in Bujumbura

**B**URUNDI is expected to top the agenda of the annual summit of the Organisation of African Unity in Cameroon today, despite the government's efforts to backtrack on an agreement to allow foreign troops to attempt to break the cycle of ethnic massacres.

A fortnight ago, Burundi's Tutsi prime minister, Antoine Nduwayo, and the largely powerless Hutu president, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, bowed to pressure from other East African leaders and "invited" what was euphemistically described as security assistance. Tanzania, Uganda and Ethiopia were among African countries offering to send troops. The United States has offered logistical support and financing.

But Mr Nduwayo's own party accused him of high treason over the deal, and he

then tried to shift responsibility to the president.

"We need to look for alternative solutions. Foreign soldiers would violate our sovereignty," the prime minister told one protest against intervention.

An estimated 150,000 people have died in three years of turmoil since the assassination by Tutsi soldiers of Burundi's first president elected by the Hutu majority.

The Tutsi political and military elites has been trying to use nationalism to whip up sentiment against intervention, fearing that an occupation force will impose a political solution at its expense.

The prime minister's party, the mainly Tutsi Uprona which is the real power in the coalition government, even went so far as to issue a thinly veiled call for a coup.

Regional powers, led by Tanzania, had hoped to have a proposal on intervention ready to submit for approval to the OAU summit. But Burundi is saying it will be at

least another week before it has assessed its position.

Mr Nduwayo will continue to face pressure from Burundi's neighbours, who fear the war could spill across their borders. He and his colleagues bowed to regional pressure after months of rejecting foreign troops, amid escalating violence and an economy badly hit by the war and the suspension in March of all but emergency aid.

Beside the objections within Burundi, the region's leaders still have to decide on the size, composition and, most importantly, the mandate of an intervention force.

When not addressing hardliners at demonstrations, Mr Nduwayo has said he believes foreign troops will have a mandate to use force to protect civilians.

"I think it is very delicate because we have said it [an intervention force] wouldn't come to fight either side, but if the population is being attacked, they [foreign soldiers] will have to react," he said.

Even if a plan for armed intervention is agreed, it will, at best, provide a breathing space in which to try to find a political solution. Besides overcoming mounting bitterness, any settlement will have to ease tremendous fears to balance the democratic rights of the Hutu majority while guaranteeing the security of the Tutsi minority.

"I don't think it's impossible but the real problem is the ideology of genocide that's been developed for years here, as well as in Rwanda," Mr Nduwayo said. "We need to have a system in which the ethnic groups can really feel safe and blossom together."

African foreign ministers adopted a draft resolution recommending that the OAU decide whether Liberian civil war faction leaders should face a United Nations war crimes tribunal. Whether to press for prosecution will depend on an assessment by the Economic Community of West African States next month.

**Afghans dodge dangers of war**

Landmines do not deter civilians from scouring the ruins. Gerald Bourke reports from Kabul

**A**BDUL WASEH'S teams have been working since 6am. Two of his men work their way down a narrow road between ruined houses in the area of Khusal Mena. War has turned the once affluent Kabul suburb into a wasteland.

As if diving, one of the men steers a metal detector over the road. The other, alerted to something underground, prods the earth.

It has taken them six weeks to make 150 metres of the roadside safe. In the process, they have unearthed thousands of metal fragments, mostly spent bullets and shrapnel shards, and dozens of anti-personnel mines.

For two years until January 1995, Khusal Mena was a no man's land, fought over by rival Sunni and Shia factions — bit players in a wider war for the Afghan capital.

Even at the height of their exchanges of artillery and machine-gun fire, fighters from both sides would sneak into Khusal Mena, lay mines and booby traps, then retreat behind their lines.

After the Shias were routed 18 months ago, the Halo Trust, a British charity specialising in the removal of mines and unexploded ordnance, moved in. Thousands of civilians also came. Some were former residents hoping to salvage something of their former lives. Others came from the city's growing army of human scavengers.

Within the first week there were 586 mine victims," Dr Homayun Farid, Halo's director in Kabul, says. Since then the toll has diminished considerably, thanks to awareness campaigns by Halo and other organisations.

But even the presence of de-

mining teams does not deter some residents. Mr Waseh gestures to an elderly man to leave the area his team is clearing. "He'll be back once we finish for the day. When we're working, we can tell them to stay away. After we're gone, it's a free for all."

Despite billboards warning of the dangers, the booty believed hidden in abandoned homes turns the minefield into a magnet for scavengers.

While mines are generally more likely to maim than kill, booby traps scattered across Khusal Mena are far more deadly.

"There's one," Mr Waseh says, pointing to a strand of wire stretched across a chunk of broken concrete at the entrance to a devastated house.

An electronically controlled device recently defused by his team consisted of an anti-personnel mine rigged to a rocket connected to a bomb.

If booby traps rarely spare their victims, mines are more discriminating. Momin Rakhman, aged 12, was caught in gunfire between marauding gangs in Khusal Mena. As he ran for cover, he stepped on a mine which blew off his ankle and drove metal into his leg.

Doctors amputated his leg just below the knee and fitted an artificial one. Until he reaches adulthood, Momin will need a new artificial limb every six months. Seven months after the accident, he is still traumatised. Like the tens of thousands of other amputees in Kabul, his prospects are bleak.

"If there is peace, he may have some sort of future," a physiotherapist says. "He's on a road that could lead anywhere."

According to the International Committee of the Red Cross, Kabul is the most mined capital in the world. The two factions that fought for Khusal Mena have agreed a peace of sorts, but the war for the city isn't over, with more mines being sown.

Dr Farid says: "We clear one field and another sprouts a few miles away."

**Author spied for apartheid police**

David Beresford in Johannesburg

**O**NE of South Africa's emerging literary talents, Mark Behr, who defied the National Party government as a student leader during the apartheid era, has disclosed he was a police agent.

The author of the novel *The Smell of Apples* said yesterday that he had worked for the security police for more than four years in the late 1980s. He then turned double agent, supplying the ANC with intelligence.

Mr Behr, aged 32, was the first "leftwinger" elected to the students' representative council at Stellenbosch University.

He incurred the apparent wrath of President F. W. de Klerk in 1989 by taking the Nationalist-controlled SRC to Lusaka to meet the banned ANC. But he had cleared the trip with the police as a move to enhance his credibility in the anti-apartheid community.

He said yesterday that he was forced to leave Stellenbosch when the National Intelligence Service and Military Intelligence threatened to blow his cover, on the grounds that his leftwing activities at Stellenbosch were becoming counter-productive.

Most of the students who had accompanied him to Lusaka for talks with the ANC resigned from the party on their return.

Mr Behr disclosed his

role at an artists' conference in Cape Town. "Today I begin a public confrontation with that fear of shame that induces silence as it feeds relentlessly on its own juices," he said.

Mr Behr said he had been recruited by a relative who was a general in the South African police.

Four white South Africans, held for nine months by the Angolan rebel force Unita, returned to Pretoria yesterday and recanted "confessions" that they were mercenaries.

The four — Steven Jonker, aged 26, Francois Cloete, aged 32, Stephanus van Rensburg, aged 28, and Andrew Fraser, aged 50 — said they had been coerced into making their statements at a press conference.



Mark Behr: His activities became counter-productive

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John Glover 1996

# UN digs up Bosnia war crimes site



One year after Srebrenica's fall, forensic investigators are gathering evidence for The Hague trial. Julian Berger reports from Cerska

**F**ORENSIC investigators from the United Nations used a mechanical digger to remove the topsoil from a remote northern Bosnian hillside yesterday as work began to exhume thousands of victims of last year's Srebrenica massacre.

The UN hired Serb labourers from the Sarajevo area to do much of the manual work. The workers walked up the dirt track to Cerska carrying hoes, spades, and picks, and pushing wheelbarrows. They refused to talk to the press and demonstrated with photographers. Many Bosnian Serbs view collaboration with The Hague tribunal as treachery.



Hills of death... Finnish team members near Kravice remove the remains of Muslims shot while fleeing Srebrenica last year. PHOTOGRAPH: ODD ANDERSEN

Three thousand men from Srebrenica are known to have been killed. The missing 5,000 are presumed dead. The remains recovered in the next three months are expected to provide ample evidence of atrocities, but it is unlikely that many of the remains will be identified. There is no ante-mortem data-

base—dental and medical records, descriptions and DNA samples from relatives—necessary to have a fair chance of identifying the bodies. A report by Physicians for Human Rights earlier this year said that exhumation of corpses before an ante-mortem database has been compiled would significantly

reduce the long-term possibility of identification. Humanitarian workers in the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) have also questioned The Hague tribunal's need to exhume all the bodies in the Srebrenica mass graves. ICRC staff argue there is already a mountain of evidence

## Kinkel urges arrest warrant for Serb leaders

**I**AN TRAYNOR in Bonn  
**KLAUS KINKEL**, the German foreign minister, called at the weekend for international arrest warrants for the indicted Bosnian Serb leaders, Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, following last week's hearing in The Hague detailing their alleged complicity in the slaughter of thousands of Bosnian Muslim men at Srebrenica last summer.

# Moscow breaches deal on Chechen checkpoints

**J**AMES MEEK in Moscow  
RUSSIA breached one of the most important conditions of its truce with rebels in Chechnya yesterday when it failed to dismantle the fortified checkpoints which control movement around the breakaway republic.

checkpoints were to have been removed by yesterday. But a spokesman for government forces in Chechnya, Colonel Roman Sokolovsky, said that only four of the 32 remaining checkpoints would be dismantled. He blamed the rebels. "So far they haven't fulfilled a single point of the agreement signed," he said.

**T**HOUSANDS evacuated in Siberian flood havoc  
HEAVY rains in Siberia led to flooding which has caused more than £150,000 worth of damage in the Irkutsk region, the Interfax news agency reported yesterday.

President Yeltsin's new national security adviser, met rebel representatives outside Grozny to prepare for a visit by the former general. Interfax news agency quoted "informed sources" as saying the emissary, Sergei Drogush, was also expected to meet the rebel military commander, Aslan Maskhadov.

# Nato to upgrade links with Russia

**J**OHAN PALMER in Brussels  
BUOYED by Boris Yeltsin's victory in the presidential election, Nato is planning to offer Russia what amounts to political membership of the Atlantic alliance.

Although the Russian government still opposes any Nato expansion, it now appears to accept the probability that the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia will be invited to join either at the end of this year or next spring. The likely accession of Slovenia—confirmed by the US defence secretary, William Perry, during his visit to Ljubljana last week—would mean expansion of the alliance into the Balkan region for the first time.

Advertisement for G2 magazine featuring a woman's face and the text: "All my aesthetic, my ethic comes from observing birds. They are good to their young and to each other. They migrate from bad weather." William Wharton. G2 page 10.

# Mosquitoes shun big hunt

**J**ON HENLEY in Helsinki  
THE environmentalists are delighted, but 30 slap-happy Finns, a brace of Swedes and a lone Norwegian already in training in the bug-infested wilds of Lapland are devastated: an unseasonal shortage of insects has wiped the fifth world mosquito-killing championships off next weekend's agenda.

Mr Salmijarvi had to overcome opposition from animal rights groups to the event, which requires contestants to strip to the waist, await the whine of mosquitoes and then thrack as many as they can in five minutes. Sprays, nets and swats are banned. The mangled insects are submitted to a six-strong jury to determine whether they are the genuine article, and genuinely dead.

Denmark and Norway are among Nato members pressing the claims of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, but other members believe this would be too great a provocation to the Russian military and nationalists in the government.

Advertisement for SAGA Services Ltd: "Heard you were renewing your home insurance and you are hoping to save money. Thought of SAGA for people over 50. Freephone 0800 414 525 Ext.3579 SAGA Services Ltd"

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Labour plays shadow boxing
Avoiding the tough choices

IN AN ideal world a small majority of the Shadow Cabinet — a dozen, maybe — would be elected by MPs...

But this is not an ideal world. Instead, Labour is gearing itself up for a ritual internal battle about whether to hold an election...

The really important question which lies behind the dilemma about the Shadow Cabinet elections is whether all those who are successful in them will automatically get the Cabinet posts...

Edward Heath at 80
The best ex-premier we ever had

SIR Patrick Mayhew, whose retirement from Parliament at the next general election was announced yesterday, is 86 years old...

Compare and contrast Sir Edward Heath, 80 years old tomorrow and once again a Conservative candidate at the next general election...

Sir Edward's Oxford contemporaries, Lord Healey and Lord Jenkins, are frequently mentioned on the list of best Prime Ministers we never had...

Old Tory; New Depths



Drawing morals from Carey

THE Archbishop of Canterbury is right when he insists that every community has to accept and honour the rules of decent society...

For most important aspects of human behaviour "there is no law". Laws help to enforce a sort of morality, but are incapable of defining it...

New Labour's road runs through a new co-operative Europe

NEW Labour's Road To The Manifesto is paved with laudable intentions. Unfortunately there is an insurmountable roadblock labelled "International competitiveness"...

Hot and cold in Chiantishire

IS IT possible that Mortimer's "love" of Chiantishire (Sweaty socks in the sun-dried shirt, July 6) simply consisted of consuming the nice weather and the wine?



England's kilty conscience

I WOULD respectfully like to correct Michael Forsyth and Her Majesty the Queen (Stone of Scone, July 4)...

A Country Diary

THE LAKE DISTRICT: Many years ago I wrote, rather cheekily, that the walk up Great Gable from Honister Pass would be a suitably gentle walk for octogenarians...

Floating the concept of a boat on a motorway

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

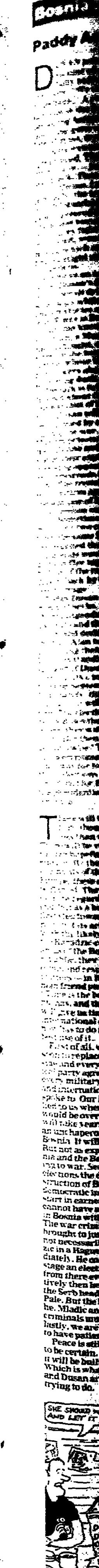
THE story which follows reveals me as a sybarite, but it is true, and I tell it as an introduction to a political parable...

The trickle-down theory — by which the rich justify their wealth as a certain way to benefit the poor — had Galbraith solemnly announced, been superseded by a new metaphor...

count of the losses incurred by arriving three-quarters of an hour late at their destination...

Let us accept, at least for the sake of argument, that whoever owned the boat was promoting his own best commercial interests by sending it along the inland route...

and collective efficiency by producing cheap travel or if they reduce both these conditions by slowing down the other traffic...





Bosnia Diary

Paddy Ashdown

DUSAN points to a mound of earth, artfully hidden among the trees: "We shot at you from here." A year ago, Dusan was in the Serb army, besieging Sarajevo. A year ago these guns were what I feared most, trying to slip into Sarajevo on the Mount Igman road. The road is empty now - just a mound of earth, artfully hidden among the trees...

Today Dusan leads a small group of Serbs, who resisted the propaganda from his own side and the fear of the other, and decided to stay in the city. Alan is committed to protecting their rights. And Bruno is standing (with the support of Dusan and his community), in the city elections on September 14. Unfortunately, this will not be typical - it will be the exception. The elections will not break down the ethnic divisions. They will confirm them. But then, how could it be otherwise? The country has been engaged in a genocidal war for four years. And these elections have been held in Bosnia, but for the presidential election in America.

There will be intimidation; though probably less than was feared. There will be vote rigging; though probably only at the margin. By the rigorous standards of the rest of Europe, these elections will be flawed. They should, however, be regarded not as an end, but as a beginning - a first step towards democracy, not its achievement. With a Bosnian exception of the Karadzic-controlled areas of the Bosnian Serb republic, they probably will command respect where it matters - in Bosnia. A Bosnian friend put it this way: "Time is the best friend. Bosnia has, and these elections will give us time." What the international community now has to do is to make the best use of it.

First of all, we must decide soon to replace E. For. Each side and every Bosnian political party agrees, as does every military commander and international official I spoke to. Our leaders simply lied to us when they said it would be over in a year. It will take years to establish peace in Bosnia. It will be expensive. But not as expensive as Bosnia and the Balkans returning to war. Second, after the elections the delayed reconstruction of Bosnia and its democratic institutions must start in earnest. Third, we cannot have a durable peace in Bosnia without justice. The war criminals must be brought to justice. This does not necessarily mean execution in a hangar or prison immediately. He could probably stage an election campaign from there even more effectively than he can isolated in the Serb headquarters in Pale. But the Hague is where he, Mladic and the other war criminals must end up. And lastly, we are going to have to have patience. Peace is still far too fragile to be certain. And if it comes, it will be built little by little. Which is what Bruno, Alan and Dusan are desperately trying to do.



Right-on to hand over if you've had it

Commentary Mark Lawson

IT is said that much of the work of Manhattan psychoanalysts involves people traumatised by their inability to understand the cartoons in the New Yorker. Similarly, a key rite of passage in British middle-class adolescence is the moment when you realise that you comprehend most of the references in an edition of Private Eye. There is a glow that comes from breaking the code; a chill that follows from the inability to do so.

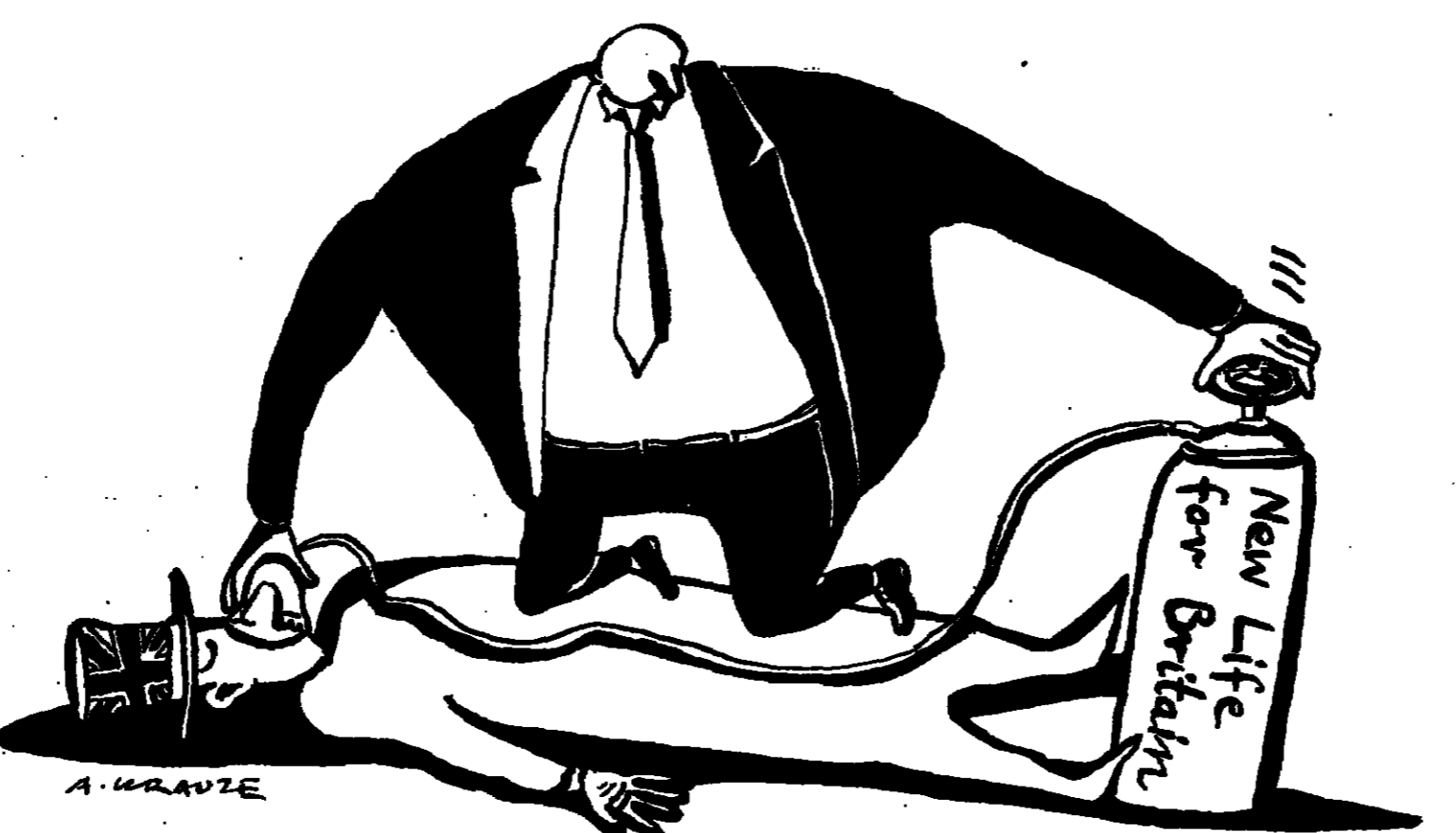
When it comes to advertising, we sophisticated consumers of the late 20th century like to think we've got the code broken. When Camelot used pictures of a piece of cake in its corporate campaign about how hard it is to run the National Lottery, the company imagined that it was making wry, post-modernist use of a cliché about easiness. But, hardened unspinnable cynics that we are, Camelot's visual gag brought to mind the one about trying to have your cake and eat it. We have volubly fantasised a campaign in which a photo of a

pliss-up in a brewery was used as the visual comparison for running the Lottery. Equally, Abbey National's advertisements this week for its new "Millennium" bond, maturing in the year 2000, were, to us, of more cultural than financial interest. How many more companies, we wondered, would take advantage of the fervour surrounding time's impending triple zero score? How many cars and chocolate bars and perfumes called Millennium will we have to endure? So it comes as a shock suddenly to encounter ads that you don't understand, whose code remains impenetrable. Though impenetrability is the wrong metaphor for the first of my examples. It is a vertical half-page - appearing in the New Statesman and other sensitive publications - which begins with the bold-print declaration: 120 Million Acts of Sexual Intercourse Will Happen Today.

newspaper quantity-of-banking surveys from every nation of the world? In fact, the more closely the advertisement is examined, the more bizarre it becomes. Its lurid arithmetic of international shagging appears one page before the magazine's lonely hearts ads, which seems tactics. But, to be fair, it seems to be seeking donations only from copulators. "If you had sex and reproductive choice today," the ad concludes, "help us give more women the chance to choose." So - logically - if you didn't get anything that day, you needn't give anything. It's like a right-on equivalent of Chris Evans's celebrated drive-time radio feature: "Honk if you had it last night."

Its lurid arithmetic of international shagging appears one page before the lonely hearts

used and problematic body of knowledge: ad facts, statements which hope to hook the eye without engaging the brain. There's another one, a few pages later in the same magazine: "80 Per Cent Of The World's Population Is Waiting For A Phone". Cable & Wireless advise us, below an amusing picture of a Wimbledon-like queue outside a phone booth. "But so what? Is this statistic supposed to make British subscribers feel better about delays in connection and service? And what does the figure actually mean? It presumably includes at least a couple of billion people who have either never heard of telephones or could not afford



John Gray suggests that Labour's pre-manifesto document shows how the modernisation of social democracy will mean cultivating a new form of capitalism

Revival of reforms

LABOUR'S pre-manifesto document, New Labour: New Life For Britain, published last Thursday, marks the end of the new right's hold on British political debate. The policies which the document contains - on infant class sizes, the setting of social democratic goals of growth, full employment and greater economic equality by implementing Keynesian policies. They were proactive in managing demand and borrowed heavily to finance economic expansion. For a quarter of a century, until the first signs of its breakdown became evident in the late seventies, Keynesian policies delivered the goods. By the nineties, globalisation - the unrestricted movement of capital, goods and information throughout the world - had limited severely the ability of national governments to achieve social democratic goals by Keynesian means. Governments that tried to do so, such as François Mitterrand's in the early eighties and the Swedish Social Democrats in the early nineties, were ruthlessly punished by world bond and currency markets. In a globalised economy of this sort there can be no going back to the policies that underpinned social democracy in the postwar period. By accepting that the goals of social democracy can no longer be pursued effectively by Keynesian policies, the draft manifesto tacitly recognises the daunting magnitude

of the task that Labour will confront in power. Contrary to the caricatures of the old left and the new right, the economic philosophy it expresses is not at all Thatcherism with a human face. Nor has it much, if anything, in common with Owenite social democracy. New Life For Britain is, in fact, the beginning of a programme for the modernisation of social democracy. A Labour government that is committed to finding new means to achieve traditional social democratic goals will have to do so in an economic and political environment that has been deformed by nearly two decades of new right policies. S UCCESIVE Conservative governments have made policy on the neoliberal dogma which condemns as state interference any attempt to lay down ground rules for market exchange that goes beyond the prohibition of fraud and coercion. For the new right the idea that a framework for the market should express and entrench society's common sense of fairness was - and remains - anathema. The result is the neo-Victorian Britain today, in which women workers at home earn less than £1 an hour while executives in the privatised utilities collect indexed pensions of more than £100,000 a year. The mini-manifesto's commitments to a minimum wage, to signing up to the Social Chapter and to a windfall profits tax for the privatised utilities are welcome antidotes to these worst exponents of winner-take-all cap-

italism. But will these policies be enough? The economic culture that Labour stands to inherit is one that has been relentlessly reshaped in accord with new right theories to replicate an American model. British capitalism is what it is today, in part at least, as a result of almost two decades of state intervention, animated by the mission of transplanting American economic individualism to Britain. Not all of the economic changes of that period have been harmful; but no one - outside the narrowing circles of the new right - could claim that the project of Americanising British capitalism has been a success. Its economic results are controversial at best; its social costs are indisputable. New right policy rests on the assumption that social cohesion follows, virtually automatically, from economic success. When you come to think about it, this is a very odd foundation for policy; especially when you consider the unparalleled levels of social breakdown in the United States. But the strangest aspect of new right theory is that it considers economic success and social cohesion to be distinct goals that can be pursued and reached separately. The evidence from truly successful market economies, in East Asia and in European countries such as Austria, Germany and Norway, is that an economic culture of trust and commitment is vital to long-term prosperity. Companies themselves must function as reasonably cohesive social institutions if they are to motivate their employees. How, in any case, can a fractured and riven society

be judged to be economically successful? Nevertheless, the only enduring result of new right policy may prove to be the importation into Britain of some distinctively American forms of economic and social division. Modernising social democracy means cultivating a new form of capitalism. It does not mean uncritical emulation of any foreign model. Once we are rid of the incubus of new right policy, we are likely to find ourselves having most in common with our European partners; but there is no European variety of capitalism that can simply be adopted here. No western country has yet solved the chief defects of late modern industrialism, such as inequitable access to work and the undoing of valuable institutions and communities by global market forces. None of the varieties of western capitalism has found a point of balance between harnessing the dynamism of the market and meeting enduring human needs for security. Yet these are the problems that Labour in power will inevitably confront. If Britain is to be first among European countries in contriving a worthy successor to the old forms of social democracy, a further realignment of political life is unavoidable. The neoliberal, English nationalist rump that is presently exercising the sterile power of veto over policy in the Tory party must be excluded from power. Co-operation among all who reject the bankrupt politics of the new right cannot be postponed for much longer. Electoral reform is the logic of events. Labour must prepare itself for the long haul.

The Olympian shape of thighs to come



Ros Coward

THE big news at the Atlanta Olympics is the extraordinary change in women's participation. Newsweek is calling 1996 the Year of the Women, claiming "female athletes are the Olympians to watch". Jackie Joyner Kersee is the "best woman athlete ever". German swimmer Franziska Beckwith is "the country's premier sports hero". Zheng Haixia, at 6ft 10in is "the most dominant women's basketball player in the world". The male bastions of sport have been crumbling daily. This year alone England has seen the first woman ride in the Derby and the first woman in the pavilion at Lord's. Now women also appear to be equalising on performance. Research published in the Journal Nature suggests that on current showing, women may soon out-perform the men in endurance events like swimming and the marathon. Apparently we have better reserves of fat - hardly news to some of us. The more women compete, the more their bodies change it seems, challenging the biological foundation of sexual discrimination. Women's Wimbledon is no longer a sideshow of frilly underwear. Now hard-bodied dyke icons with power serves are more reliable than the men. So confident do women seem about eventually closing the gender gap that it's even fashionable to love football. But for those of us who still find the idea of the pinstriped as a fashion statement absurd, this participatory euphoria seems premature. Men's sports, especially those like football with working class origins, may have shed their disciplinary and public school associations. But women's team sports are remote from sport's new ideologies of individual skill, professionalism and financial reward. They still conjure up images of head girls and dubious over-identification with organising institutions. Perhaps this is not surprising. In a forthcoming book, The Stronger Women Get: The More Men Love Football (Women's Press, August), American author Mariah Burton Nelson argues that sports coverage in the media is massively male dominated; women's sports are marginalised by millions of women who work out at the gym. The only difference is that they are seeking the result of a "better figure" rather than a better time against the stopwatch.

WHERE children of both sexes are encouraged equally, women make extraordinary gains. China's women's team has risen farther and faster than any team of either gender in the history of the games. They out-perform the Chinese men's team. And it seems likely that these athletes come from the areas where China's single child policy has been working. It may be the first time the same resources, attention and effort has been poured into girls' sport. However, it's an achievement at huge cost. Even the Chinese are beginning to worry about the excessive pressures which some parents put on these single children, including handing them over to military-style sports camps. But the West has no reason to be smug. Scandals are now breaking about the young American girl gymnast and skaters whose lives have been ruined by unscrupulous trainers and obsessions with dieting. These same disciplinary pressures are internalised by millions of women who work out at the gym. The only difference is that they are seeking the result of a "better figure" rather than a better time against the stopwatch.

Advertisement for Pilot fountain pens. Text: "The disposable fountain pen, you won't want to throw away!". Image of a fountain pen. Text: "Pilot V4 traditional Stainless Steel disposable fountain pen guarantees an exceptionally smooth writing feel from the first to the last word with ease and comfort. Convenient to use, no fuss, no mess, writes first time. A quality fountain pen at a disposable price. Now available in fine and extra fine nibs. Available from all Leading Stationers and Office Suppliers. PILOT PURE LIQUID INK RANGE 24 CARAT SMOOTHNESS".

Kenneth Jameson

Art for the heart's sake

KENNETH Jameson, who has died aged 63, was a painter and a devoted most of his life to promoting the place of art in education and in emotional development. He saw drawing both as a language and as a tool to develop observation, which could help sustain the enquiring aspect of children.

John Jenney

Kenneth Jameson, art educationist, born June 30, 1912; died March 17, 1996

Matima Mpiooso

Music under African skies

MATIMA Mpiooso, who died aged 45, of cancer, was a guitarist and director of the Zairean group, Zaiko Langa Langa. Zaire provides the yardstick of all African music and in 1970, Zaiko created the new soukous music.

Graeme Ewens

Matima Kinuani Mpiooso, musician, born April 14, 1951; died May 26, 1996



A new and lifelike Egyptian cinema... Salah Abou Seif's Raya Wa Sakina

PICTURE COURTESY BRITISH FILM INSTITUTE

Salah Abou Seif

Egypt's real master

WITHIN the Arab world, the Egyptian cinema has always been dominant.



Seif, right, director in action on location

In 1951, he collaborated with Naguib Mahfouz — one of Egypt's most important writers and later a Nobel prize-winner — on *Your Day Will Come*, a rare adaptation of Thérèse Raquin.

human density, the passion of Arab Muslim life to contradict its limited series of crude essentialised caricatures, and Arab films were seldom distributed outside Egypt.

After *The Death of the Waterbearer* (1977), which was awarded best film of the year by the Egyptian Film Association, Abou Seif lost favour with the critics and the public.

But he continued to live by the credo he once expressed: "When the cinema is not devoted intimately to man in the act of suffering and struggling to live, or even only to survive; when it doesn't express faithfully and scrupulously this life in its inextinguishable daily grind, then it is only a simple craft."

Ronald Bergan

Salah Abou Seif, film director, born May 10, 1916; died June 22, 1996

Dermot Grubb

Within these walls

DERMOT Grubb, who has died aged 78, was a prison governor who took his Quaker sense of purpose into Oxford, Bedford and Horfield prisons.

He was Dublin-born and never quite lost his Irish accent, although he was educated in England from the age of 12.

His first governorship was at Oxford. He so developed university links, especially with the Institute of Criminology's Nigel Walker, that he was awarded an honorary degree. Wherever he worked,



Grubb, a legend in prisons

Birthdays

Judy Allen, children's writer, 55; Jon Bannenberg, yacht designer, 67; Dr Robert Barnes, metallurgist, 72; Sir Robin Biggam, chief executive, BICC, 58; Prof Martin Carver, archaeologist, 55; Dame Mary Corsar, chairman, WRVS, 69; Lord Dervaird, professor of company and commercial law, Edinburgh University, 61; June Dixon-Millar, founder and director, National Centre for Cued Speech for the Deaf, 61; Leslie East, publishing director, Neville and Co, 47; Lord (Jan) Gilmore, former Conservative minister, 70; Bruce Gynell, group managing director, Yorkshire Tyne-Tees Television, 67; Brian Hitchon, editor, *Daily Star*, 66; Dame Elaine Kellett-Bowman, Conservative MP, 72; Dr Peter Knight, vice-chancellor, University of Central England in Birmingham, 48; Steve Lawrence, singer, 61; Pauline Quirke, actress, 37; The Rt Rev Derek Rawcliffe, assistant bishop, Ripon, 78; Ron Rubin, jazz musician, 63; Walter Scheel, former president, West Germany, 77; Sir Roy Shaw, writer and critic, 78; Brian Walden, broadcaster, former Labour MP, 64.

Hugo Barnes

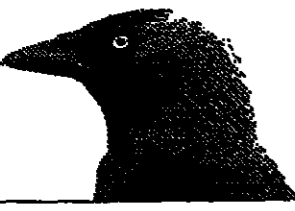
Letter

Mr Wilde writes: If Ian Katz's Margaret Hemingway obituary (July 3) had been commissioned to lampoon, it would have been worse. Veronica Horwell's ensuing observations emphasised that Hemingway had good years, successes, she was athletic, beautiful, a pioneer in the modelling world. Women are bored with hairy grunt-journalism.

In Memoriam

WEATHER-HAYES, Jim, died tragically 3 years, 7.7.92, "Shine on Jim", 87 to 73 467. Fax 011 971 4124.

Jackdaw



Toilet tips

A NOTE on talking: usually, talking at a urinal situation is frowned upon. Conversation may occur directly prior to urinal use, or directly after it, but while engaged at the urinal, verbal communication should be nil. Furthermore, actual conversation may only occur between two individuals who entered the washroom together. Under no circumstances should you start a conversation with someone whom you discovered to be in the bathroom when you arrive. A simple grunt or non-verbal word is acceptable to acknowledge the other's existence, but that is all.

The Ideal Situation: If you are lucky, and this is rarely the case, then you may be on the receiving end of what is only known as the "Ideal Situation". This situation is, of course, the presence of only one urinal. The etiquette here is simple: if it's empty, pee. If it's not, don't. It is always preferable to busy one's self with a washroom-related activity while waiting for the urinal to free up. Wash your hands, check your hair, check the floor for loose change, do the moonwalk etc. Two Urinal Tragedies: Chances are that with two urinals, one of them will be occupied. In this case under no circumstances should you proceed to the urinal. To proceed is to pee in one urinal adjoining another which is occupied. This is the cardinal sin of urinal etiquette. Never pee beside someone. Instead, it is best to busy one's self with activities mentioned under the Ideal Situation, with the possible exception of moonwalking, for which breaking dancing should be substituted. Three's company: If you should come across three empty urinals, then the natural male tendency to attempt to ac-

cumulate power and property might lead you to try to pee in the middle urinal. Unfortunately, in some countries, to do so is punishable in manners unspeakable. For to choose the middle urinal is to deny any subsequent patron of the urinal the opportunity to pee in isolation while you are at your business and therefore is an act of pure, unadulterated selfishness. Instead, one should immediately proceed to the end urinal which is furthest from the door, or alternatively, best smelling. If two urinals are occupied by two men, the two end urinals then one should proceed with delay tactics which were described earlier, especially nose scratching and armpit sniffing. Five, five, five: Because the number of urinals is increasing, it becomes increasingly difficult to assess the situation while still maintaining an entirely casual and matter of fact air. At this point, practice is essential. Use mirrors to scan the urinals, tie your shoe without ever taking your eyes off the urinals and appear at all times that you are not actually examining the urinals.

Some essential etiquette at gpus.sr.us/berba.ca/~mshes/ More madness THE DISCUSSION on mad cow disease has led to a lack of consumer confidence in France — on nothing like the British scale, but enough for the French agricultural lobby to roll its propaganda machine into action. What was clearly needed was to distinguish French (and by implication "safe") beef from British (for which read "dangerous") beef. It's easy, someone thought: we just invent a label which can go on French meat. So a label, in the blue, white, and red of the national colours was duly invented, on the basis of the initials VF, meaning viande française. It was only once the label started to appear that it was realised VF could also read as vache folle (mad cow). The label was hastily redesigned to include the words in full. Meantime, the well-established dairy manufacturer Bel issued a solemn communiqué to point out the cow in the world-famous logo on their

Vache qui rit cheese was only smiling in pleasure and not laughing mad hysteria. Another exploit was to sail a barefoot of cows down the Seine, like some latterday Noah's ark, to signify the threat to the species since the market collapsed. But there was too much competing news for this to do more than cause bewilderment to the Japanese tourists who take over Paris each summer. The Tablet discovering evidence that it not just the cows that have gone mad. Dog tales WHETHER leashed or unleashed in life, the dog roams at large in our cultural imagination. An abandoned dog can break our hearts in ways that human strays all too often no longer do. Yet, at the same time, the dog offers a kind of emotional and practical microclimate in which we can make manageable a host of problems that in other areas of life seem overwhelming or out of control: health insurance, day care, preschool, homelessness, depres-

sion, euthanasia. The president of the National Psychological Association for Psychoanalysis has observed ruefully: "How ironic that we seem to care more about the happiness of animals than humans". In the end, it is not substitution or anthropomorphism that produces the human love of dogs and the current preoccupation with them in our culture. The paths of

lost, unwanted, abandoned, neglected, or maltreated animals — from Homer's loyal Argus to yesterday's Mamma and Baby — speaks, somehow, to the rootlessness and nostalgia inherent in the postmodern condition. Blessedly, dogs are free of irony and are strangers to cynicism (despite the cynicism of the word — from the Greek kynikos, "doglike"). In a relentlessly ironic age, their ungracious demeanour is perhaps just what we need. It is with dogs that, very often, we permit ourselves feelings of the deepest joy and the deepest sorrow. "Dogs are not our whole life," Roger Caras writes in *Dog People*, "but they make our lives whole." In this sense — so one could almost claim — it is the dog that makes us human. Lassie used to come home every week, often having rescued Mom or Tummy from some scrape on the way. Now our welcome mats dipity two-dimensional collies — or labradors, or Afghans ("available in 15 breeds") — and working dog owners call home to speak to their pets on the answering

machine. Home is where the dog is. If the dog brings back the filfies in a miniaturised form, it's because the dog is what we would have liked to have been to our parents: totally lovable, totally loved. The puppy represents what the yuppie fantasises about childhood, what the older person fantasises about youth, what the city dweller fantasises about the country, what the weary workaholic fantasises about freedom, what the hater fantasises about spontaneity and emotional generosity. In soft-focus television commercials, and at the front door, the dog, leash patting in mouth, is always waiting for you. *Majorie Garber in the New Yorker contemplates what the dog symbolises to the human in postmodern society.* Jackdaw wants jewels. E-mail Jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 011-713 4366; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Emily Sheffield

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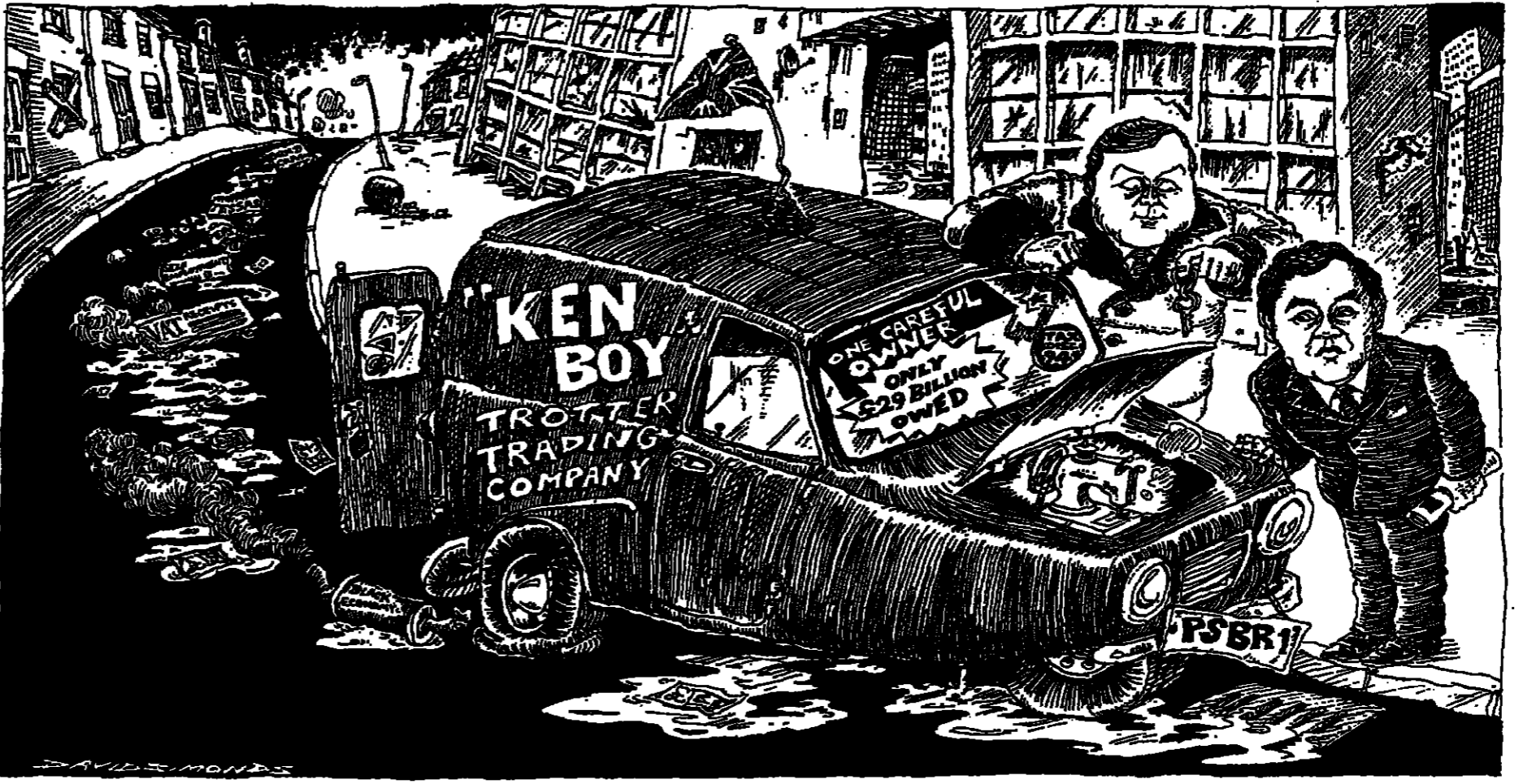
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July 15 1994

Labour's fiscal severity may not look radical but it is realistic — thanks to Tory car boot sales



# Tax trap awaits whoever wins poll



Larry Elliott

WHEN it comes to fiscal policy, there is nothing remotely new about Labour. Gordon Brown is Stafford Cripps half a century on, threatening to be an avatar of austerity even before he moves into the Treasury. In fact, he promises to out-Cripps Cripps, because the Attlee government funded increased NHS spending without compensatory cuts elsewhere.

sity for fiscal stringency is not one of them. The problem is simple. The Conservatives promised Britain a dynamic, entrepreneurial society in which we would all be like Richard Branson: instead, they have created a car-boot-sale society in which the role model is Del Boy Trotter. And in a car-boot-sale society only plunkers pay tax. Britain is now a seriously undertaxed country. It has been estimated that the sell-off of nationalised industries is costing some 2 per cent of GDP a year in lost revenues, the North Sea oil companies have escaped with only the lightest of tax regimes, and the growth of self-employment has eroded the tax base by encouraging a discount-for-cash zeitgeist.

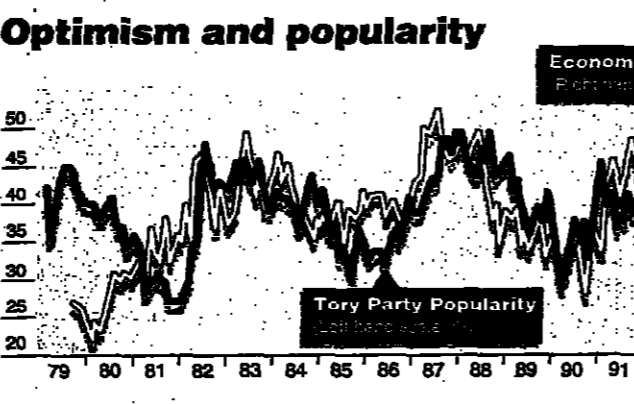
1994 Budget, the Chancellor predicted that the PSBR for 1995-1996 would be £2.5 billion. It turned out to be £2.2 billion. The problem was not spending, where controls remained tight, but revenues, which were about £10 billion lower than forecast — which the Treasury believes is a structural phenomenon. About half of the undershoot reflected the fact that nominal GDP came in almost £13 billion lower than expected. With a tax/GDP ratio of 40 per cent, this knocked 25 billion off receipts. But that was not the end of the story. VAT, corporation tax and income tax were lower than they should have been, even allowing for the undershoot in nominal GDP. The tax increases of 1993/94 pushed up the tax/GDP ratio, but not by as much as the Government had hoped. Economists at Salomon Brothers have come up with six factors which may have eroded tax revenues. First, the 1994 crash in the bond markets hit the profits of the financial sector, where tax payments rose by just 6 per cent in 1993

following an 80 per cent leap in 1994. Had they matched the 40 per cent rise in corporation tax from industrial companies, CT would have been £1.5 billion higher. Second, the proliferation of tax-free savings schemes may be costing about £1 billion in forgone income tax. Third, 35 per cent of the work force is self-employed, against 30 per cent in the early 1980s. Self-employed people tend to pay less tax than those on PAYE. Fourth, involuntary stock-building caused by the slowdown in the economy is hitting the VAT, because VAT is reclaimable on stocks. Fifth, the big increase in the VAT threshold for companies from £25,400 in 1990/91 to £47,000 has encouraged the splitting of companies into smaller non-VATable units. Last, higher VAT rates have stimulated the growth of the black economy. It is easy to see why the Government is having so much trouble achieving its aim of balancing the budget over the medium term. Indeed, this now looks like an unrealistic aspiration, unless the medium term means the next 50 years. During the last full cycle — the 11 years between 1981 and 1992 — the PSBR including privatisation receipts averaged a modest 1 per cent of GDP. In the five years since (assuming a PSBR of 3.8 per cent of GDP in the current financial year), we are averaging 5.3 per cent. The logic is obvious. Fiscal policy needs to be tightened, and will be tightened once the election is over. This is no bad thing, given Britain's inadequate supply capacity and the likelihood that any expansion in consumer demand will trigger a sharp increase in import penetration and concomitant deterioration in the balance of payments. The austerity of the past few years, although unpopular, has been good for the economy, but we need more of it. The Chancellor is well aware of these home truths. He knows he cannot afford to do what Nigel Lawson did in 1987 and offer a triple whammy of tax cuts, higher public spending and a lower PSBR. Mr Clarke is also insistent that his priority is to restore the Conservative Party's reputation for economic competence, destroyed on Black Wednesday, and that halving tax cuts is hardly the way to do it.

City that there will be no tax giveaway and it will increase the chances of a pleasant surprise come Budget day. HOWEVER, these chances should not be exaggerated. On the revenue side, things have started to look a little rosier in recent months, helped by the pick-up in consumer spending. If this continued, the Chancellor might be able to stand up on Budget day and claim, straight-faced, that the hole in the public finances was closing as mysteriously as it opened up. But, frankly, it would stretch credulity. Public spending looks less promising — par for the course in a pre-election year. Net departmental outlays are forecast to rise by 1.5 per cent, but in the first two months of the year they were up by 5.4 per cent on the same months of 1993-1994. The possibility of further slippage this year is high, particularly given that £1 billion of the £2.5 billion reserve is already earmarked for SSE compensation. The Chancellor's lamentations about the PSBR are not just hype. He may be able to cut taxes modestly, but only if revenues are buoyant and spending ministers show restraint. Even then, there would almost certainly have to be some jiggery-pokery to depress the spending totals for the arithmetic to stack up. Mr Clarke is coming on like another Chancellor of yesteryear, Roy Jenkins in 1970. But even if he resists the pressure from Brian Mahoney and Michael Heseltine for a scorched-earth strategy, the need to tighten fiscal policy will remain. The real issue is not whether this will happen but how. Labour's ideal policy mix should be a loose monetary and a tight fiscal stance, but that does not mean the tax-and-spend choices have to be the same as they are now. Mr Brown could and should cut the fiscal cake in a completely different way to Mr Clarke, taxing the rich more heavily to benefit the poor. If he does not make the right political choices in office, he will deserve censure. But these are political choices; they need to be made after the election, not now.

## Why F-words have lost their meaning

SOME people hate the phrase "feel-good factor". It has become overworked and, arguably, meaningless. Especially now that the two F-words have become seemingly glued to a third word, spawning the new term "chavivite feel-good factor". The feel-good factor may have become a cliché, but all clichés were once original, relevant and smart. The meaning has been buried beneath the recent deluge of good news. Football came home to roost in the garden gate, at any rate. Tennis finally produced a success who was not only British but, better still, cute in a Hugh Grant sort of way. Even Chancellor Kenneth Clarke seemed to have taken to the performance of the economy when discussing the elections. "This country needs a boost, and to win Euro 96 would be good news. I hope it helps the feel-good factor," he said on June 14, the day before England beat Scotland. Since the feel-good factor has become part of the lexicon of political commentators when discussing Tory fortunes, he might as well have said: "I hope a win for the lads will push us up the polls a tad."



Optimism and popularity. BRIEFING/As someone once said, anything can happen on the day. SARAH RYLE reports

progress. "Even before football fever gripped the media, there were fairly clear signs that consumer confidence was starting to pick up. Defeat at the hands of Germany in Euro 96 probably makes little difference to the buoyant outlook for consumer confidence over the next few months," say Messrs Stewart and Turnbull. Their tracking of consumer spending and real disposable income over the past 16 years, the MORI and Gallup con-

sumer confidence polls and the Conservative leads and lags against Labour do show a correlation. Or they did until 1992 and Black Wednesday, when sterling fell out of the exchange rate mechanism and the public began to doubt the Government's ability to manage the economy. Since then, the relationship between optimism and confidence and voting intentions has broken down. Messrs Turnbull and Stewart add tax increases in 1992-1993, weakness in the housing market and a growing perception of job insecurity to the list of reasons behind the breakdown. David Owen, an analyst at Kleinwort Benson, has also cast doubt in his latest report on the "naïve assumption" that "consumer confidence holds the key for government polls. Although he shows that, in each of the last four elections, economic optimism peaked at or just after polling day, Mr Owen backed the view that the relationship has broken down since 1992 (see graph). He argued that the Conservatives can "no longer rely on increased consumer confidence, or lower base rates to engineer a re-election." He said a MORI poll found a net balance of 8 per cent of voters expecting the economy to worsen in the coming 12 months, which was less than the average net balance of 15 per cent since 1979. But, judging by the 1979 experience, this negative level of consumer confidence should mean a better opinion poll showing for the Conservatives than they are achieving. So a government that predicted a recession in 1990-91 but was wrong to do so in March 1992 may not enjoy the same escape this time around, according to Mr Owen. Although odds have recently moved in the Tories' favour on the City bookmakers' IG Index, Mr Owen said a slim Labour majority was still in the offing. But few analysts will discount the possibility of a sudden change in the mood up to an election, regardless of the odds. Anything, as somebody once said for the first time, can happen on the day.

## Reasons not to invest in futures

WORM'S EYE/Climate of fear is forecast by DAN ATKINSON

FOR those who found that Environment Secretary John Gummer's doom-laden greenhouse-gas forecasts last week lacked a certain something, here is your cat out and keep guide to Apocalypse Soon(ish). The Free-trade Firestorm: Jimmy Goldsmith helped to get this ball rolling. He says everybody wants it. Harvard professors, European trade unionists, you name it. Here's the scenario: one billion (or two billion, or four billion) low-paid Third World types, hitherto kept off the open market by trade barriers and meanie Marxist governments, swamp all the available employment opportunities and everybody in Europe goes home to die. Welfare states collapse, the only people still in work are the stress counsellors. Gory or what? The New Dark Ages: This is the ultra-Gothic version of the old long-wave theory. Five hundred years of western progress culminated in full employment, social democracy and technological advance. But all good things come to an end, and so a new alliance of drug barons, multinational business cartels and ruthless speculators are squeezing the nation-state out of existence, ushering in a new 10th century, with plagues and outlaws but without the plausibly chanting or illuminated manuscripts. The Hyperinflationist Polonaise: Huge in the 1970s and due for a comeback. The world's financial system breaks down and basic commodities — wheat, oil, coal — start to run out. Civil order collapses as purchasing power falls to nil. People flee the cities and set up communes deep in the countryside (see The Four-Gated City by Doris Lessing). Things fall apart, the centre etc, etc... The Great Depression: Not to be confused with the entirely respectable school of thought that holds the 1990s to be the new 1930s, this is the scenario of choice for all those itching to see payback time for the permissive society. ITV, the pill, overpaid footballers, £100 training shoes and the abolition of corporal punishment. The "fool's paradise" of the prosperous consumer society is blown away like froth from a pint of beer. The Total Market Failure: One event — usually the much-awaited Tokyo earthquake — tips the overactive over-engineered financial system into complete meltdown. Everybody sells everything, computer-driven trading programs add fuel to the flames, stripy-shirts hurl themselves from skyscrapers. More of the Same: Steadily increasing consumer prosperity. Too awful to contemplate.

## Worship at free-market altar doesn't work

DEBATE/Command industrial policy has proved successful in Taiwan, argues ROBERT WADE

DEBATES about economic policy in Britain and the United States generally focus on the trade-off between market driven efficiency and social goals secured by state intervention. The issue is both the left and the right is how much of one should be given up for the other. Many Tories invoke East Asia as proof that free markets, low taxation and minimal state-provided welfare work best for us and them. There is no doubting East Asia's economic success. Take Taiwan, one of the lesser-known cases. Taiwanese firms are now taking out patents in the US at about the same rate per million of the population as middle-class Britain and France, giving the lie to the claim that the East Asians are good imitators but

South Korea and Japan) has sought to create a "virtuous circle" between state interventions and markets. On one hand, state action helps guide market exchanges in line with a longer-term national interest beyond the concerns of decentralised enterprises. On the other, the incentives, rivalry and feedback of these markets help keep state action effective. In Taiwan, the government saw through a reform programme which returned land to farm workers in the early 1950s. It reorganised agricultural markets and invested heavily in rural infrastructure and industrialisation. It then turned its attention to developing larger-scale industries. Over time, it created a set of organisations within the state for formulating and carrying through a long-term industrial development strategy. Studies of elasticity of demand, technical change, and the composition of imports helped to identify those industries that should be developed next. In the 1950s this meant promoting agro-processing and light consumer goods. In the 1960s it meant promoting labour-intensive manufactured goods for export. During the 1970s emphasis shifted to heavy and chemical industries, like steel and basic metals, petrochemicals and shipbuilding. The 1980s and 1990s have seen the same industrial policy apparatus pushing technology- and skill-intensive industries — and, increasingly, low-pollution generating industries. THE government has a wide array of measures to foster targeted activities. They include fiscal incentives and concessional credit through the nationalised banking system; measures to help expand domestic demand for the targeted products; and quasi-public agencies providing technical and marketing assistance. Many of the measures do not involve much public money — government officials can help bring interdependent companies together to coordinate investment

plans, for example, resulting in higher levels of investment at little public cost. In the 1990s the thrust of Taiwan's industrial policy apparatus has been directed, at last, to environmental clean-up. Taiwan, like South Korea, shows a stark contrast between economic progress and environmental deterioration. The strategy has been to get rich first and clean up later. The government has begun to factor environmental considerations into industrial policy, encouraging firms to adopt less environmentally damaging behaviour and shifting the sectoral composition of the economy towards less damaging activities. To achieve this it is using the same methods it earlier used to promote the development of specific industries. First, it is following an import substitution strategy for creating an indigenous environmental goods and services industry. Second, it is subsidising industry purchases of pollution-control and abatement equipment. Third, it is financing research into pollu-

### Indicators

TODAY — UK: Industrial production (May); UK: Manufacturing (May); UK: Producer Prices (May); US: Consumer credit (May); GER: Unemployment (June). TOMORROW — UK: Cyclical indicators of the UK economy (May); UK: Construction: New orders (May); US: Retail Sales (June). Source: NatWest Securities.

### Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 1,9175	France 7.76	Italy 2,587	Singapore 2.15
Austria 16.22	Germany 2,3075	Malta 0.590	South Africa 6.56
Belgium 47.42	Greece 365.00	Netherlands 2,5900	Spain 193.75
Canada 2,0650	Hong Kong 11.75	New Zealand 2,2080	Sweden 10.175
Cyprus 0.7075	India 84.74	Norway 9.88	Switzerland 1,8225
Denmark 8,5150	Ireland 0.9450	Portugal 257.75	Turkey 123,008
Finland 7.18	Israel 4.98	Saudi Arabia 5.80	USA 1,6200

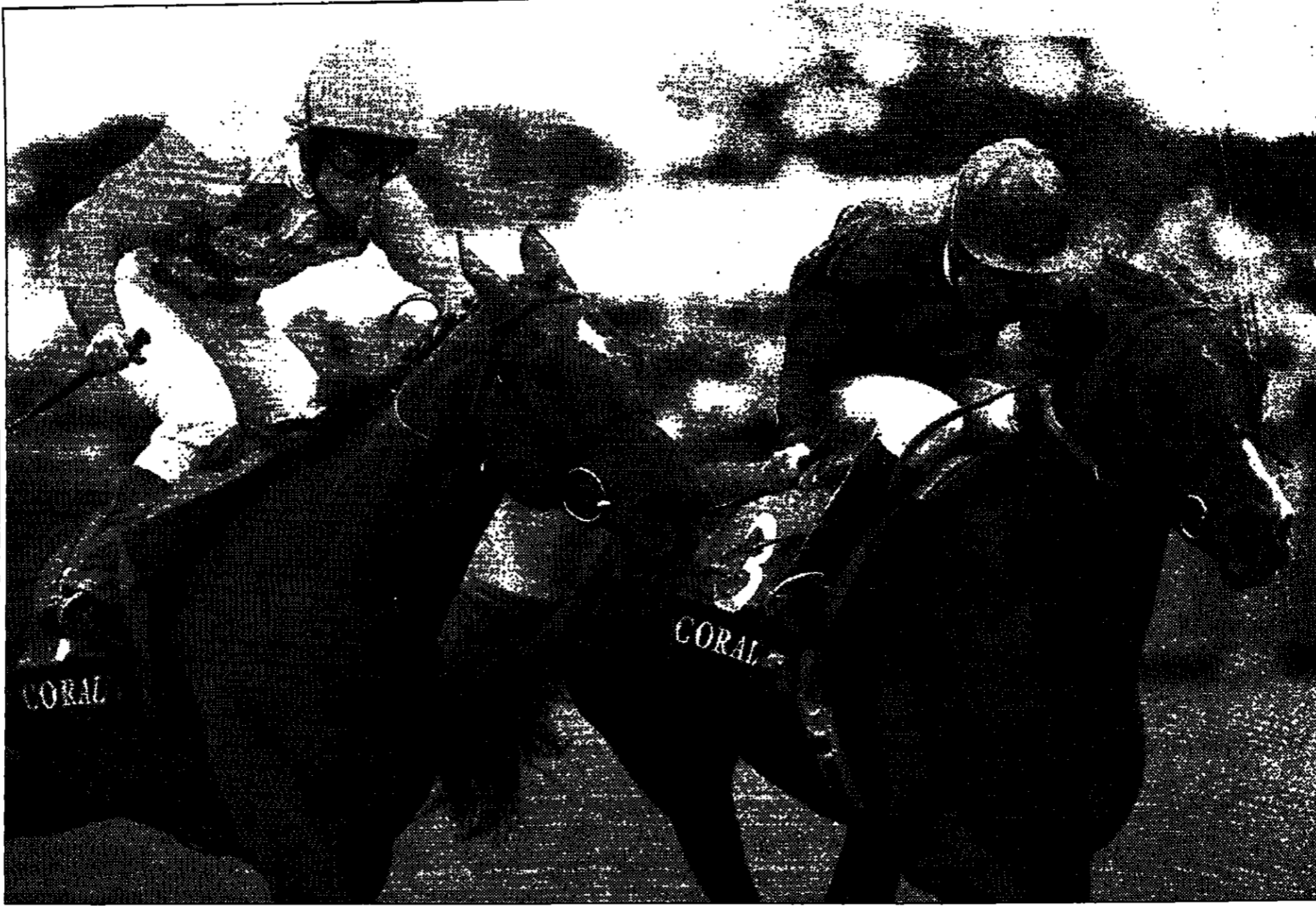
Supplied by NatWest Bank (packaging broken rates and break should be at close of business on Friday).

12 SPORT/RACING

Halling's turn to dish dirt

Return to turf leads to Eclipse double. Graham Rock reports

HALLING showed identical qualities of speed and courage to repeat his victory of last year in the Coral-Eclipse at Sandown on Saturday, running on bravely to defeat Bijou d'Inde by a neck. The Godolphin champion is unbeaten on turf since recording his first success in a modest handicap at Ripon in August 1994. Not surprisingly, Simon Crisford, Godolphin's racing manager, said afterwards that the winner would not be asked to race on dirt or sand again. Halling's two defeats in the past two years came in the Breeders' Cup Classic at Belmont last autumn and in the world's richest race, the Dubai World Cup, when he finished a street behind the fourth-placed Pentre, who ran third on Saturday. Both Walter Swinburn, who won the Eclipse on him last year, and Saturday's successful jockey, John Reid, pressed admiration for Halling's attitude. All horses want to run, but few show the exuberance and courage that Halling demonstrated in becoming the fourth horse this century to win the Eclipse in consecutive years. The International, Irish Champion Stakes and Dubai Champion Stakes will probably complete Halling's season. Mark Johnston is revising plans for Bijou d'Inde. His original intention was to rest the St James's Palace Stakes winner until the Queen Elizabeth II Stakes at Ascot in late September and then run in the Breeders' Cup Mile. But now he is certain his colt stays a mile and a quarter. Bijou d'Inde is likely to renew rivalry with Halling at York. The Breeders' Cup Mile remains likely and Johnston is already thinking that the Dubai World Cup next spring might be a realistic target. "He was a bit unlucky, racing through a wet patch, and then challenging when the winner was taking him across the track," Johnston said yesterday. "It's very difficult to pass a horse under those circumstances and if we'd been able to challenge the other side he might have won. "The winner found something when we moved up to challenge, though, so you can't take it away from him. Some people have said we were lucky at Ascot. I think luck was against us on Saturday, but he ran a great race." Pentre moved up with two furlongs remaining, but never reached the leader and stayed on at one pace to finish third, two lengths behind the winner, but five lengths clear of Definite Article in fourth. His best form has been on fast ground, but his jockey, Michael Hills, said he thought Pentre ran as though he needed the outing. Geoff Wragg's stable star will have every opportunity to redeem his reputation in the King George VI and Queen Elizabeth Diamond Stakes at Ascot later this month. There were 15 sprinters declared for the July Cup at Newmarket on Thursday and all the major bookmaking firms have installed Pivotal as the short-priced favourite, with Ladbrokes's 7-4 the best odds available. Mark Prescott's King's Stand Stakes winner should be at least as effective at six furlongs as he was over the minimum distance at Ascot, and it is no surprise that this lightly-raced three-year-old



Neck and neck... John Reid and Halling (right) get the better of Bijou d'Inde and Jason Weaver in Saturday's Coral-Eclipse

PHOTOGRAPH: GEORGE SELWYN

heads the ante-post market. Ladbrokes's 9-2 is the best price about the second favourite, Anabaa. Trained by Criqueute Head at Chantilly, Anabaa is closely related to the top-class 10-furlong colt Key of Luck. He was successful over a mile last year, but has improved out of all recognition since racing over five furlongs this season, having won

Thursday's sprint, was sent to the front by Drayll Holland at the two-furlong marker, but could not withstand the persistent challenge of the winner. Geoff Lewis's Passion For Life made the running to half way under Paul Eddy, but dropped away quickly in the closing stages to finish last but one of the 12 runners. Michael Jarvis won the

first French juvenile pattern of the season - Saturday's Group Three Prix du Bois at Longchamp - with Deep Finesse. Philip Robinson made all the running on Deep Finesse, who may go for the Weatherbys Super Sprint in two weeks' time, although he could instead go back to France for the Prix Robert Pajon on July 27. Further British success

came in France yesterday when Peter Chapple-Hyam's Chief Contender, who had finished ninth to Shaamit in the Derby on his previous start, scored a length-and-a-half victory over Faucon Royal in the Listed Derby de l'Ouest at Nantes. Germano, partnered by Michael Hills, finished a disappointing last of 18 in yesterday's Group One Deutsches

Derby over a mile and a half at Hamburg. Prominent for the first eight furlongs, the son of Generous was unable to go with the pace and gradually weakened. The race was won by the home-trained favourite Levirco, trained by Peter Rau and ridden by Torsten Mundry. Suraco, the runner-up, carried the same colours as the winner.

Bath runners and riders with form guide

Table of horse racing results and form guides for Bath. Includes sections for 2.00 Durham, 2.30 Kildare Lass, 3.00 Classic Defence, 4.00 Praters Oull, 4.30 Bangles (nb), 4.00 North Ardar, 4.30 Hot Surprise, 4.50 One Pound, 5.00 Indian Relative, 5.20 Dipped Gown, 5.50 Lucky Day, 6.40 Labrad, 6.10 Pheasant House, 7.35 Hagains, 6.05 Barrack Yard, 6.35 THREE OF TIMES (ms), 6.05 Queenlets.

Ripon tonight

Table of horse racing results and form guides for Ripon. Includes sections for 7.00 North Ardar, 7.35 Hot Surprise, 7.50 One Pound, 8.20 Indian Relative, 8.50 Dipped Gown, 9.20 Lucky Day, 7.00 North Ardar, 7.35 Hot Surprise, 7.50 One Pound, 8.20 Indian Relative, 8.50 Dipped Gown, 9.20 Lucky Day.

Windsor tonight

Table of horse racing results and form guides for Windsor. Includes sections for 6.40 Labrad, 6.10 Pheasant House, 7.35 Hagains, 6.05 Barrack Yard, 6.35 THREE OF TIMES (ms), 6.05 Queenlets.

Musselburgh

Table of horse racing results and form guides for Musselburgh. Includes sections for 2.15 Farwell My Love, 2.45 Crystal Warrior, 3.15 Sweet At Whalley, 3.45 Ragtime Cowgirl, 4.15 Anonym, 4.45 Musselburgh Pilsener.

Windsor tonight

Table of horse racing results and form guides for Windsor. Includes sections for 7.00 North Ardar, 7.35 Hot Surprise, 7.50 One Pound, 8.20 Indian Relative, 8.50 Dipped Gown, 9.20 Lucky Day.

Bath runners and riders with form guide

Table of horse racing results and form guides for Bath. Includes sections for 2.00 Durham, 2.30 Kildare Lass, 3.00 Classic Defence, 4.00 Praters Oull, 4.30 Bangles (nb), 4.00 North Ardar, 4.30 Hot Surprise, 4.50 One Pound, 5.00 Indian Relative, 5.20 Dipped Gown, 5.50 Lucky Day, 6.40 Labrad, 6.10 Pheasant House, 7.35 Hagains, 6.05 Barrack Yard, 6.35 THREE OF TIMES (ms), 6.05 Queenlets.

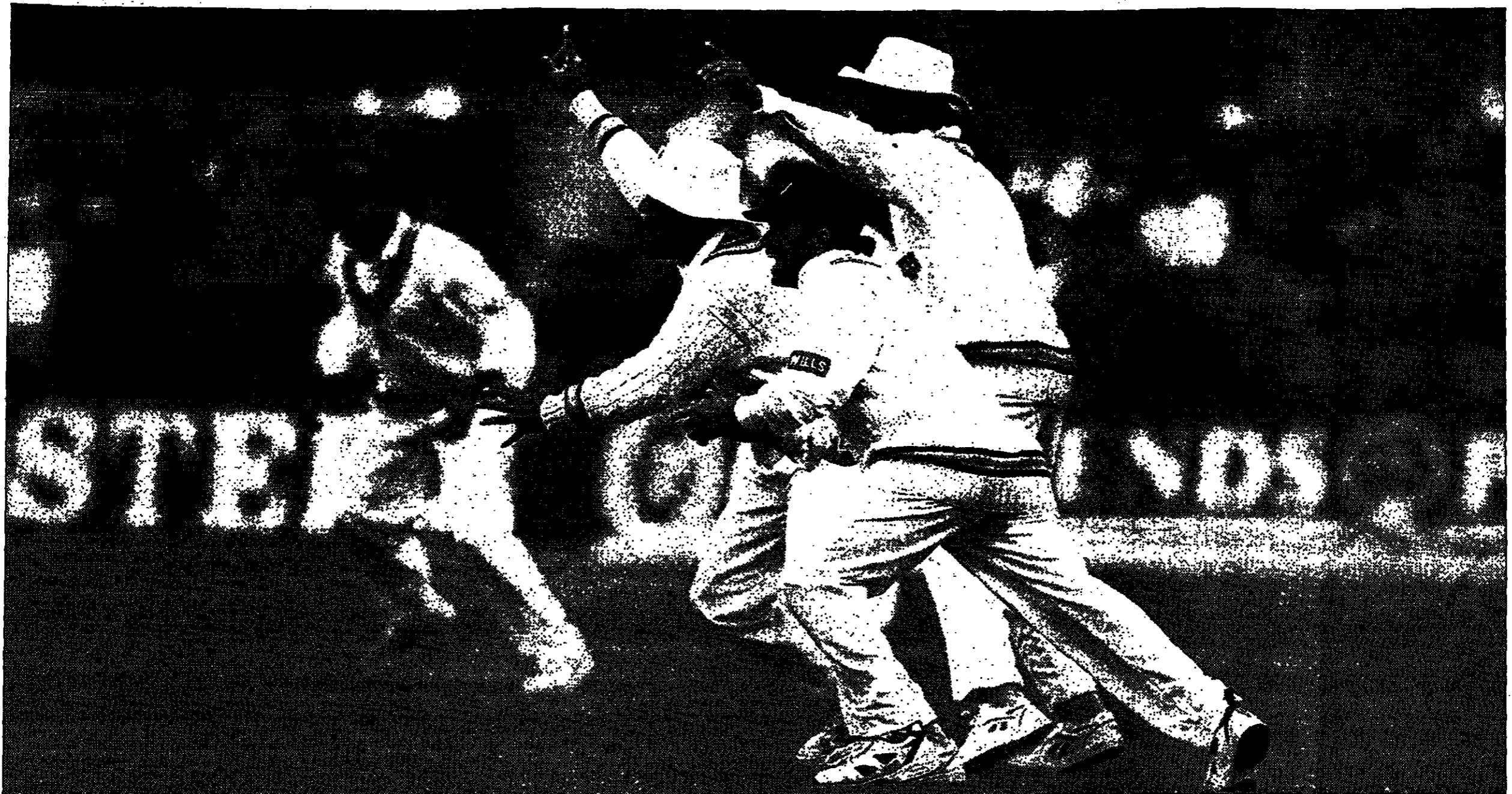
0930 168+ RACELINE COMMENTARY FOLGORE scores

Folгоре won the Premio Cingolina for John Dunlop in Milan on Saturday despite breaking a tooth in the stalls and finishing with blood pouring from her mouth.

Blinkered today for the first time: BATH 2.00 Brick Court; 2.30 Decision Maker. MUSSELBURGH 4.45 Monte Cavo. RIFON 7.00 Vescha Lady; 7.25 Casual Cottage. WINDSOR 8.05 Soaked, Belateena; 8.35 Dummer Golf Time, Mullagh Hill.

Rowing Imper... Christopher Dodd at Tower...

Large vertical advertisement on the right side of the page, featuring the name 'Athe' and other text.



The one and only... India's slip cordon are quickly out of the blocks at Trent Bridge as Stewart is dubiously given out caught behind by Mongia off Srinath to provide the tourists with their only success on Saturday

MICHAEL STEELE

England v India: third Test, third day

# Atherton in charge as Hussain waits

Mike Selvey on a digital time-bomb at Trent Bridge

AT THE highest level sport is about seizing the moment and sometimes riding — or not riding — your luck. Michael Atherton and Nasser Hussain would be among the first to nod agreement. After an unbeaten partnership on Saturday England's second-wicket pair could be parted this morning, not directly by the Indian attack but by a hairline crack in Hussain's right index-finger.

The Essex batsman, who has made such a fist of filling the important No. 3 role, faces an early-morning net at Trent Bridge when a decision will be made on his fitness to continue. He was struck on the glove late on Saturday afternoon and yesterday a precautionary X-ray revealed the damage to his digit.

Such fleeting happenings can alter the course of destiny. Take last Thursday morning shortly after India had lost their second wicket, when Sachin Tendulkar slapped a square-cut hard but straight at Atherton in the gully. The England captain has made himself a capable fielder in this position but, perhaps unthought of momentarily by the background on a gloomy day, his timing was out and the chance was grasped. It was Tendulkar's sixth ball and he had yet to score. He did not offer a second chance for 7½ hours, until he had made 177.

## Scoreboard

Table with 2 columns: Player, Runs. Includes names like Tendulkar, Dravid, Srinath, Atherton, Hussain, and scores for both teams.

Atherton, circumstances pushing him to a low mental ob, edged a ball from Jasraj Srinath to the left hand of Rahul Dravid at third slip. Once more the chance went begging. Atherton had not opened his account either and by Saturday evening he, too, had made his opponents pay dearly for the lapse. He changed himself westerly from the field with 145, his 10th Test century, after an entire day at the crease.

With Hussain he has added 192 for the second wicket. Technically a different animal from the open-faced creature of two years ago, Hussain completed his second hundred of the series. It is more than a decade since an England batsman in the No. 3 position has done so. The first objective, 322 runs to avoid the follow-on, was achieved from the last ball of the day and, on a pitch that has shown no signs of wear, the potential is there for something special, whether or not Hussain plays a part.

Atherton has again demonstrated his remarkable resilience. He has never been, he will say, a streak player who feels particularly in form or out of it. To a degree he is fatalistic, devoting the very best of his endeavours to the process of scoring runs but believing that either he gets them or he does not; and that, if he does not, then he will next time.

This innings was a scramble. The grin that followed the mistimed pull over the wicketkeeper's head, which brought up his half-century showed he knew that. But he needed the runs, not necessarily for himself but for the team.



Atherton's hundred, Hussain's congratulation

under which the modern Test umpire finds himself is having an adverse effect. Direct television replays and the new giant screens are stripping them bare in front of the crowd and the players. Mistakes will always be made both ways, with Alec Stewart the latest to be sent on his way by an apparently bad decision, while the Indians thought Hussain had been caught behind during both his centuries.

But low decisions are causing the greatest controversy. In the past — and currently at lower levels — bowlers are gaining verdicts that defy simple geometry. At Test level, however, while the finger jerks up occasionally — the only case here has been a dubious one against Anil Kumble — umpires increasingly are taking the easy option and shaking their heads, as if determined to carry on the spirit of Bird. So far this summer Atherton twice, Tendulkar, certainly once and perhaps twice, and Stewart have got away with murder.

Overcaution, while creating less controversy, still amounts to incompetence but there is a further factor now in the shape of the giant screen. On Thursday, when Francis answered Cork's theatricals with a negative decision, while the Indians thought Hussain had been caught behind during both his centuries.

David Hopps on why the skipper needs a short break

THE talk in the Cornhill hospitality tent on Friday evening had been of why Michael Atherton should take some time off. How weary he must be, how run down. When he popped his face around the door for a few seconds (hoping to rebuke a sympathetic journalist whom he felt had wronged him), it was a surprise that he was not helpfully loaded down with travel brochures.

If Atherton had not been dreaming of Faraway Places, he had begun to resent the man with his away eyes. A batsman short of form and long on responsibility, the strains of the England captaincy looked as if they were beginning to tell again. Had the beer pumps whirred a little longer, his health might have been unfavourably compared with that of Boris Yeltsin.

Trust Atherton to summon up an innings of defiance, an immediate resort to the chattering glasses. His gruelling, seven-hour and counting, was far from the finest of his 10 England centuries but it certainly ranked among the most unyielding.

By the end of Saturday he was batting quite well, no longer crumpled to the crease while the Indian gale blew itself out, but ambling along a country lane in reasonably good humour. Paradoxically, though, it was his most unconvincing moments that were also his most impressive: he protected England's 1-0 lead in the series through sheer willpower.

just the flip he needs before the Australians arrive in England next summer. Atherton undoubtedly feels the same way. Even the most popular or respected captain does not like to be divorced from his team for too long, recognising the natural and subtle shifts that will invariably occur in a dressing-room in his absence.

Atherton, though, is a special case, a captain who still seems irreplaceable. Assuming all goes roughly according to plan, he will meet Peter Laker's record of 41 Tests as England captain in next summer's Ashes series. Only then, at the relatively young age of 28, will he dare consider his future.

It would be a proud moment but only in the context of a country that has chopped and changed its England captains to a ridiculous degree. For continuity, try Allan Border's record of 93 Tests as captain of Australia, or Clive Lloyd's 74 for West Indies.

Examine Saturday's innings and you see a batsman successfully striving to conquer his mental exhaustion. Runs in a Test match are worth more to a batsman's self-regard than a hundred runs in the nets. Look deeper and you have to ask how often he should be expected to do it? Professionalism, in part, might well be the art of producing a good performance when you least feel like it, as England's coach David Lloyd is fond of reminding us. But Atherton also deserves to recall the simpler pleasures, when there is nothing in the world you would rather be doing than batting well.

Zimbabwe, frankly, is a tour Atherton can easily miss. The Test and County Cricket Board should tell him now, while confirming him as captain for the tour of New Zealand. There is no reason why Nasser Hussain could not become the experimental leader of an experimental side, a route, perhaps, to becoming vice-captain of the team.

Tour match Northamptonshire v Pakistanis

# Kabir belies age to keep tourists out of trouble

David Foot at Northampton

THE manager, captain and the rest of the Pakistani team moved out on to the balcony ready to acclaim the hundred of the uncapped Shahab Kabir, a 19-year-old left-hander whose innings brought a luxurious texture to the day and orchestrated, with surprising maturity, a solid recovery by the tourists.

And as one, their faces were drained of expectation for an emerging star as David Capel, the fourth batsman to reach 1,000 first-class runs this season with a quickfire 88 against the South African A team at Chesterfield.

But while he pressed hard on the accelerator, the bowlers kept the handbrake firmly on. South Africa A bowled their overs at an average of 12.1 an hour during Derbyshire's first innings of 316 for five declared.

The tourists showed greater urgency with the bat; the opener Gerhardus Liebenberg reached the close unbeaten on 79 in a second innings of 128 for no wicket — a lead of 134. The Sunday League hopes of Warwickshire, champions and runners-up in the last two campaigns, were dealt a blow by the tourists that their captain Dermot Reeve will be out for the rest of the season, for an operation on an arthritic hip.

Warwickshire recorded their fifth victory with an 18-run win against Nottinghamshire at Edgbaston.

Shaun Pollock took two for 21 as Notts were restricted to 179 for six in reply to the home side's 197 for four.

Trevor Penney and the wicketkeeper Michael Burns had saved Warwickshire's innings, putting on 90 for the sixth wicket.

Warwickshire were only in difficulties during Notts's third-wicket stand of 82 in 10 overs by Tim Robinson (52) and Paul Johnson (43). When they were dismissed in quick succession by Ashley Giles and Pollock, Notts needed an improbable 54 from five overs.

## Rowing

# Imperial's full measure unhinged by Yale

Christopher Dodel at Henley

YALE'S undefeated freshman crew deprived Imperial College of a hat-trick when they won the Temple Challenge Cup yesterday. It was a double celebration for the American university, which first sent a crew to Henley 100 years ago.

little difficulty in beating the Dutch lightweight Scaudi and Argo in the regatta's latest time. This was a much better result than shown in the film of the 1987 Oxford mutiny, True Blue, in which they do the rowing while actors do the arguing.

The Queen's Tower four had a much tougher outing against Molesey in the Wyfold. Coming from behind, they won by three-quarters of a length, with Molesey's bow, Brian Steele falling out of the boat at the end. He struggled back on board but the crew were completely rowed out.

with ease against Caroline Lithi from Lucerne. Brentwood of Canada's verdict of "essily" in the Princess Elizabeth was a humiliating defeat for St Edward's. Brentwood's time of 6.25 was only three seconds outside the record, putting the strength of British junior rowing, as demonstrated all week, in the shade.

Goldie, with five Blues on board, trounced Leader in the Ladies' Fifts. They were ahead by 1½ lengths after half a mile and stretched this to 3¼ lengths at the finish. Four of the Blues then contested the premier fours final, the Stewards', against Notts County and London, who also formed half of a Ladies' Fifts eight.

Andy Butt dropped out of both Notts crews on Friday when his wife went into labour, and he was a proud father of Jack Samuel by the time the substitute Bill Baker helped beat the Blues with Ian Watson, John Williamson and Chris Bates stroking. Isis's only finalists were

## Athletics

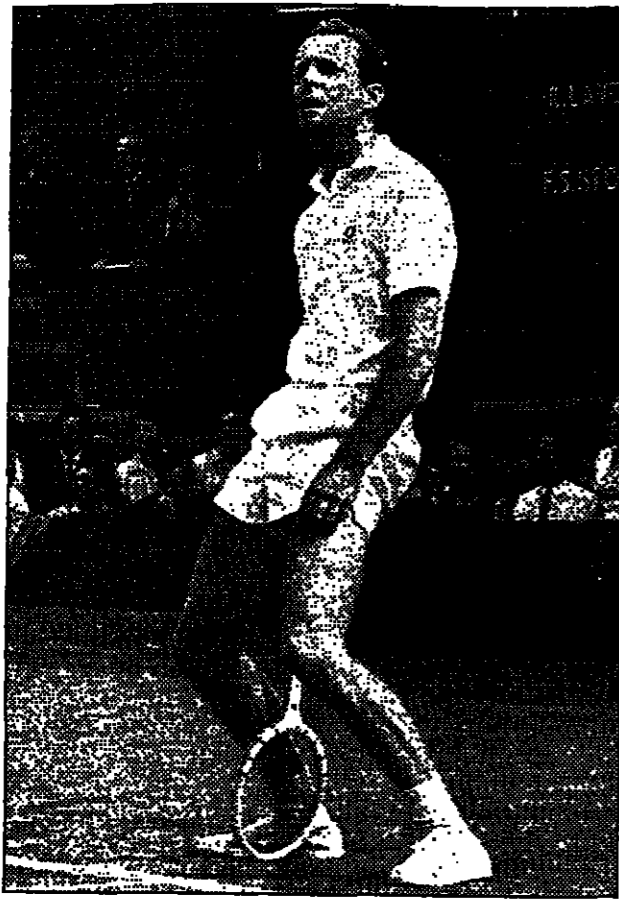
# Kiptanui goes for steeplechase record in star-studded meeting

WORLD-RECORD attempts in the men's 5,000 metres and 3,000m steeplechase will be the highlights of today's Grand Prix in Stockholm.

The Kenyan world champion Moses Kiptanui will aim to lower the steeplechase mark of 7min 59.18sec he set last year in Zurich and three of the four athletes who ran under 18min in Rome on June 5 will go in the 5,000m. Salah Hissou of Morocco won then in 12:50.80.



LACOSTE



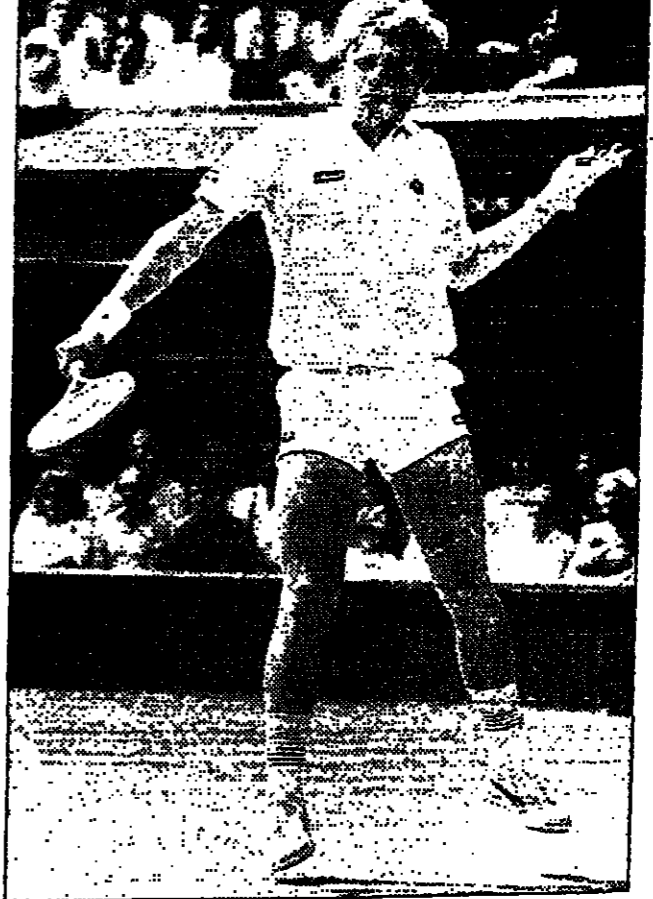
FRED STOLLE, Australia, 1963, lost to Chuck McKinley (US), seeded fourth, 9-7, 6-1, 6-4. Stolle, 24, fell at the last hurdle again in 1964 and 1965 but won the US title in 1968.



WILHELM BUNGERT, Germany, 1967, lost to John Newcombe (Aus) 6-3, 6-1, 6-1.



CHRIS LEWIS, New Zealand, 1983, lost to John McEnroe (US), seeded second, 6-2, 6-2, 6-2. Lewis played a stunning semi-final to beat Kevin Curren, who had earlier knocked out the No. 1 Jimmy Connors, but he lasted only 85 minutes in the final.



BORIS BECKER, Germany, 1985, beat Kevin Curren (US), the eighth seed, 6-3, 6-7, 7-6, 6-4. At 17 years and seven months he was the youngest Wimbledon's men's winner.

# Graf remains first among unequals

Stephen Bierley looks beyond Sanchez Vicario to a fit Seles or older Hingis to alter the old order

FROM time to time during Saturday's final thoughts turned to pigs. Not the fat ones that Richard Krajicek, in an appalling moment of political incorrectness, once suggested were rampant in the women's game; rather, the noise these creatures make: the grunt. It is perhaps unfair both on women's tennis and pigs to describe the cries certain players emit as grunts but English is not particularly rich in verbs or adjectives to detail the exhalation of air accompanied by sound. So it is that Monica Seles has been dubbed a grunter, which in no way adequately defines the tone and variation of her... whatever else you care to call them. Thoughts of Seles were to the fore during the women's final because without her return to form the women's game is likely to continue to be dominated by Steffi Graf and Arantxa Sanchez Vicario, who have now met in six of the last 11 grand slam finals. Not that this is an entirely bad thing, for the contrast between their styles often leads to riveting, fluctuating tennis. This was not quite the case this time; Graf's imperious forehand rarely allowed Sanchez Vicario the chance to do anything other than cling on, particularly in the first set. Graf can hardly have played better on Centre Court than she did then. Sanchez Vicario was visibly upset last month when she lost in three sets to Graf at Roland Garros, having come so close to victory. On Saturday she accepted, without excuse, that Graf had simply been the better player. "Steffi has never played the forehand as good. When she plays me she plays her best, and on this occasion she was so consistent - better than any other match." The pulverising depth of Graf's forehand, particularly to Sanchez Vicario's backhand side, was the dominant theme of a final which, in true keeping with the wretchedly interrupted second week, was called off court because of rain before the players had finished knocking up. Mercifully this was to be the last of Saturday's showers. Graf began tentatively, Sanchez Vicario gaining two break points on the German's opening serve. But then the Spaniard was in trouble, saving two break points herself. There was a Wagnerian grumble of thunder in the fourth game. Sanchez Vicario, who lives in the Pyrenees, is used to such reverberating storms: here the only lightning to strike belonged to Graf and the Spaniard's serve suffered a direct hit. The first set took 33 minutes and, when Graf rushed to a 4-0 second-set lead, it appeared the final would last barely an hour. Sanchez Vicario had not played badly but Graf's power and length were pitiless. The Spaniard fretted over two or three close line calls and waved her arms in exaggerated annoyance when a Graf forehand was called out, then overruled. However, she scarcely had time to get properly upset. When, at 3-0 down, Sanchez Vicario took a bathroom break, Graf (still suffering from a heavy cold for which she had received treatment in the first set) covered herself in towels. If the Spaniard's interlude was an attempt to break Graf's clamp on the match it had a delayed effect. Graf held her next serve to love and only then began to display vulnerability. An air shot on a smash led to her being broken for the first time and she lost her serve again as Sanchez Vicario levelled at 5-5. Graf's response was immediate. On the first point of the next game Sanchez Vicario fell as she tried to retrieve; she rose extremely slowly and, although not hurt, promptly lost her serve to love. The shadow of her compatriot Miguel Indurain, blowing up horribly in the Alps, fell across her. So Graf served out for her seventh Wimbledon and 20th grand slam title. It was her 100th tournament win and 789th singles success. "I don't know how I do it. I just keep on doing it. I don't care." The one person who cares rather a lot is Seles, who remains the joint No. 1. But having lost in the quarter-finals of the French Open and the second round of Wimbledon, she clearly is no longer on level terms with Graf. Tennis needs a fit Seles for, until Martina Hingis gains the strength to go with her talent, the competition at the top appears decidedly thin.



Single-minded... Steffi Graf's seventh Wimbledon crown was her 20th grand slam title and 100th tournament win.

# Navratilova looks at the point of no return

Richard Wonders if the legend's exit was her last

MARTINA Navratilova took her leave on the day Court One had been due to do the same. She picked up a piece of its departing grass and departed herself with such ceremonial waves amid nostalgic cheers that it made one wonder whether this was a Wimbledon farewell for her too. In theory she should still have unfinished business. The 7-6, 7-6 quarter-final defeat she and Jonathan Stark suffered at the more forceful hands of Grant Connell and Lindsay Davenport not only cost them their mixed doubles title but left Navratilova tantalisingly one short of the record 20 Wimbledon titles. Nor is she committed to another try. "I only decided to play a couple of weeks before the tournament this time, so I don't know if I will be back," she said. "I don't have any hopes." There had been moments when she looked unfamiliarly vulnerable, even though a champion's spirit emanated from almost every grimace and grin. This encouraged the crowd to shrill its enjoyment when somehow she contained a volleying bombardment which saved match point on her serve at 5-6. Her serve had been broken in the 11th game of the first set and she struggled at the net in the second and third points of the second-set tie-break. These put Connell and Davenport 3-0 up and effectively ended the holders' campaign. It had not been lack of fitness which scuppered the legend. The body still looked honed, the movements supple. But absence of competition and shortage of practice almost certainly hindered her - and she has no plans to increase either in the coming year. "I basically don't play tennis at all now," she said. "I would only play Wimbledon again if I still had the desire, the health and a good partner." She exited with a smile but left an impression that, whether she returns or not, Billie Jean King's record is likely to remain. The span of Navratilova's triumphs had been emphasised by the presence of the Czech-born Swiss prodigy Martina Hingis in the previous match on Court One. Hingis, named after the enduring legend, indicated her parents had made an apt choice by becoming the youngest player to reach a Wimbledon final when she and Helena Sukova won their doubles 6-1, 4-6, 6-4 against Linda Wild and Liz Smylie. Hingis is four days younger than Lottie Dod was when she won the singles in 1887 at the age of 15 years and 285 days.

**The last 16 men**

4th round	Quarter-finals	Semi-finals	Final
P. SAMPRAS (US)	P. SAMPRAS (US)	R. Krajicek (Hol)	Winner
C. Pioline (Fr)	6-4, 6-4, 6-2	7-5, 7-6, 6-4	
M. Stich (Ger)	R. Krajicek (Hol)	R. Krajicek (Hol)	
R. Krajicek (Hol)	6-4, 7-6, 6-4	7-5, 6-2, 6-1	
G. IVANISEVIC (Cro)	G. IVANISEVIC (Cro)	J. Stoltenberg (AUS)	
P. Rafter (Aus)	7-6, 4-6, 7-6, 6-1	6-3, 7-6, 6-7, 7-6	
J. Hlasek (Swi)	J. Stoltenberg (AUS)	J. Stoltenberg (AUS)	
J. Stoltenberg (AUS)	6-2, 7-6, 6-2		
T. Henman (GBR)	T. Henman (GBR)	T. MARTIN (US)	
M. Gustafsson (Swa)	7-6, 6-4, 7-6	7-6, 7-6, 6-4	
T. MARTIN (US)	T. MARTIN (US)	T. Johansson (Swe)	
T. Johansson (Swe)	3-6, 6-3, 7-6, 6-2		
P. Haarhuis (Hol)	M. Washington (US)	M. Washington (US)	
M. Washington (US)	6-3, 6-4, 6-2	6-7, 7-6, 5-7, 7-6, 6-4	
A. Radulescu (Ger)	A. Radulescu (Ger)		
N. Godwin (SA)	6-3, 6-0, 6-4		

**The last 16 women**

4th round	Quarter-finals	Semi-finals	Final
S. GRAF (Ger)	S. GRAF (Ger)	S. GRAF (Ger)	Winner
M. HINGIS (Swi)	6-1, 6-4	6-3, 6-2	
P. Hy-Boulala (Can)	J. NOVOTNA (CR)	J. NOVOTNA (CR)	
J. NOVOTNA (CR)	6-3, 6-1	6-3, 6-1	
C. MARTINEZ (Sp)	K. DATE (Jpn)	K. DATE (Jpn)	
K. DATE (Jpn)	5-7, 7-6, 6-3	3-6, 6-3, 6-1	
M. PIERCE (Fr)	M. PIERCE (Fr)		
E. Likhovtseva (Rus)	6-2, 6-3		
J. Wiesner (Aut)	J. Wiesner (Aut)	A. SANCHEZ VICARIO (Sp)	
A. Prazler (US)	6-1, 6-4	6-4, 6-0	
S. Applomane (Bel)	A. SANCHEZ VICARIO (Sp)	A. SANCHEZ VICARIO (Sp)	
A. SANCHEZ VICARIO	3-6, 6-2, 6-1	6-2, 6-1	
A. Sugiyama (Jpn)	M. J. FERNANDEZ (US)	M. McGrath (US)	
M. J. FERNANDEZ (US)	6-4, 1-6, 6-3	6-3, 6-1	
M. McGrath (US)	M. McGrath (US)		
K. Studenikova (Slovak)	6-4, 6-0		

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Johnnie 1950

## Seedless players who have earned their pips in the final

UNTIL Saturday's surprise emergence of MaliVai Washington and Richard Krajicek — crowning two weeks of unprecedented upsets — only eight unseeded players had won through to a Wimbledon men's singles final, writes *David Irvine*. And only one, Germany's Boris Becker in 1985, claimed the title. For some, like Becker and Rod Laver, it was the start of something not just big but enormous. For others, especially Kurt Nielsen and Fred Stolle, it offered a tantalising glimpse (and in their case reglimpse), of the much sought-after glory which kept on eluding them — five losing finals between them. In Laver's and even Becker's case there was an inevitability about their breakthrough. But who could have foreseen the 26-year-old New Zealander Chris Lewis, ranked 91st in the world, claiming the place pencilled in for Jimmy Connors in 1983? For Germany's Wilhelm Bungert, the last amateur to confound predictions in such spectacular fashion, a final appearance in 1967 was the reward for 10 years of patient endeavour.



ROD LAVER, Australia, 1959, lost to Alex Olmedo (US), seeded one, 6-4, 6-3, 6-4. A year later, when he was 21, he reached the final again — this time as No. 3 seed — before losing to Neal Fraser. But he won in 1961 and 1962 and again, after years as a professional, in 1968 and 1969. Two of his successes formed part of Grand Slam sweeps.



MARTIN MULLIGAN, Australia, 1962, lost to Rod Laver, seeded one, 6-2, 6-2, 6-1. Mulligan, then 21 years old, never got beyond the fourth round thereafter.

## Washington ached by fortune's slings and arrows

Richard Williams sees the American take a fatalistic approach to defeat

"It's kinda like playing Ostrava," MaliVai Washington said at his press conference, when invited to summarise the Wimbledon experience. In the Czech Republic, he added helpfully, seeing the blank looks.

Washington has a deadpan sense of humour. "That was just a joke," he said, before the All England Club could confiscate the silver plate he said would look nice on the mantelpiece in his new house in Florida. "The whole experience is, you know, tough to put into words."

Only slightly tougher than attempting to analyse the significance of a men's championship in which the last few days, once the No. 1 seed and three-time champion Pete Sampras had disappeared, did indeed resemble the draw of a second-tier event somewhere in the remoter regions of Eastern Europe.

The winner of Washington versus Martin to play the winner of Krajicek versus Stoltenberg in the final? That hardly seemed a prospect to awaken the appetites of confirmed tennis nuts, never mind of those whose minds turn to the game only for a single fortnight each year.

Yet the men's final created a genuine drama, even if it needed the suspense created by the rain breaks — the leitmotif of the second week — to make it truly memorable. It was never going to be a classic but Krajicek's play was of sufficiently high quality to justify his ownership of the great golden cup for the next year, while Washington's fierce though ultimately unavailing desire to make his mark clearly engaged the sympathies of the spectators.



Going Dutch... Krajicek's girlfriend Daphne Dekkers

The match never looked like going the distance, not after Krajicek had served the opening game to love and then taken his opponent's service immediately with the loss of only one point.

But Washington's commitment made a game of it, as did his dignity and his refusal to hide behind the usual game-face antics beloved of those who take themselves too seriously. Struggling against the Dutchman's serve in the sixth game of the second set, Washington saw the ball zip off the frame of his racket and end up, as it were, in the hands of first slip. He walked to the back of the court, asked the ball boy for the ball, and paced back across the baseline, holding the offending object in front of him and giving it a good talking-to, like the Prince of Denmark with poor Yorick's skull.

Poor Washington could do nothing about the Prince of Darkness at the other end. Whenever something worked for him, he went into a little set of skipping steps to encourage himself. When he ended a sequence of 14 winning points by Krajicek in the sixth game of the third set, he skipped practically the whole

way from the net to the baseline.

But Krajicek had the smile of Daphne Dekkers, his girlfriend, beaming down from the players' seats, and he showed no real sign of descending from the heights at which he had established himself during his successive defeats of Sanchez, Rostagno, Steven, Stich, Sampras and Stoltenberg.

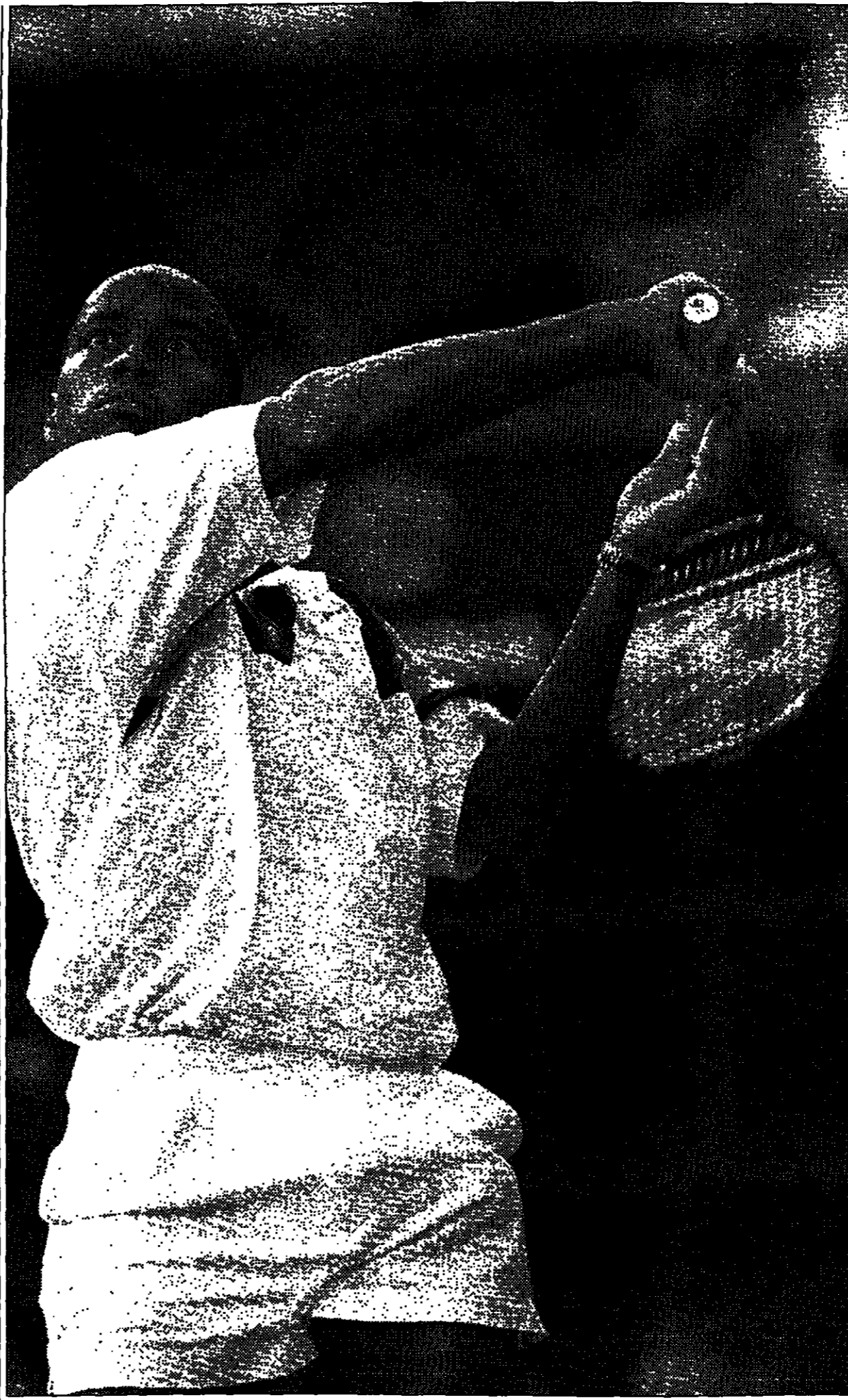
"His serve was the difference in the match," Washington said. "That's got to be one of the reasons why he's been so successful here. I venture to say that he was coming in averaging a good 120 [mph] on his first serves. At that kind of speed, placement doesn't matter so much. Heck, you can hit it straight at the guy and he won't be able to handle it. When a guy is doing that, and he can do it consistently, it's tough to break. It puts everything on you to try and hold. When you're serving like that, all you have to do is hold out the rest of the set and you're there."

When Washington netted the final point, Krajicek said, he could not believe the contest was at an end. "I was unbelievably happy — but then I felt, is the match really over? For a split second I thought, am I making a fool of myself? But then nobody started laughing too much, so I thought I really must have won."

There had been plenty of laughter earlier in the afternoon at this oddest of Wimbledon, when the Centre Court was entertained by its first streaker, who ran the length of the court just before the warm-up was due to begin, naked except for a small white apron which she lifted as she passed the players, who were standing on either side of the net for the photographers' benefit.

"At least for me it put a smile on my face," Krajicek said. "It broke the tension a little bit."

"Oh, man," Washington said, a little more effusively. "Rich and I were standing there, getting our pictures taken, and out of the corner of my eye I see the crowd reaction and I see someone coming. I thought it was a photographer at first. Then I see these... you know, just wobbling around, and Jez, she smiled at me, and then, you know, she had on like an apron, and she lifted it up, and she was still smiling at me. Then I got flustered and three sets later, boom, I was gone. If she'd only run back, maybe I'd have had better luck."



Gallant loser... Washington looks to the heavens on a day he was brought to earth by Krajicek PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENKINS



Fond embrace... the new champion greets his trophy

## Grand Slam first for Krajicek

Continued from page 1

ure given the man's undoubted ability.

Even before this Wimbledon, and given his success in Italy and France, few gave him any sort of chance. But this was the year when the distinctly improbable became totally possible. "For a split second I thought 'am I making a fool of myself?'" said Krajicek after he had struck his final winning forehand. It was real enough.

So he became the first Dutchman to win Wimbledon or any Grand Slam title. Tom Okker reached the US Open final in 1968, where he lost to another black American Arthur Ashe.

Krajicek's win earned him £392,500, although it was something a little different that lit up his eyes before the match began. Wimbledon's first streaker cavorted past both players as they stood at the net and the Dutchman admitted afterwards that he run had helped break the tension.

The All England Club was slightly more circumspect. "Whilst we do not wish to condone the practice, it did at least provide some light amusement for our loyal and patient supporters, who have had a trying time during the recent bad weather," read their statement. Topless dancers and Sir Cliff next year perhaps.

Washington, aged 27 and ranked 20th in the world but with only one previous major quarter-final appearance in seven years of trying, saw the writing on the grass as early as the second game when Krajicek broke his serve. "Boring!" came a brief cry as Krajicek pummeled down three successive aces to make the score 5-2. But this was not the ardidity of the Sampras-Ivanisevic final of two years ago.

"The trouble is that when you play a guy serving like Richard you can be 30-0 up on his serve and even then he blasts four past you," said the white-haired Franco Saguna, who was regularly taken to the service cleaners by Pancho Gonzalez. The great showman was talking during the first of three rain breaks and urging Washington to step in more often.

Washington's game certainly improved sharply during the second set, although Krajicek's serve was threatened only once — and then only briefly. The American was battling surging tide and was engulfed again in the ninth game of the second set, saving two break points but not the third.

The only element that could have stopped the Dutchman was the weather. Washington managed one break back in the third set but this strangest of Wimbledon's ended thankfully on a ringing note of individual triumph.

### Yesterday's results

#### Men's Singles

**Semi-finals**  
R. Krajicek (NED) 6-3, 6-4, 6-3 vs P. Sampras (USA)  
M. Washington (USA) 6-4, 6-3, 6-2 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)

#### Women's Singles

**Semi-finals**  
S. Graf (GER) 6-1, 6-3 vs A. Sanchez Vicario (ESP)  
L. Davenport (USA) 6-4, 6-2 vs J. Stolarik (AUS)

#### Men's Doubles

**Semi-finals**  
T. A. Woodbridge/Woodford (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs M. Philippoussis/Rafter (AUS)  
J. Harewood/J. Harewood (GBR) 6-4, 6-2 vs J. Stoltenberg/J. Stoltenberg (AUS)

#### Women's Doubles

**Quarter-finals**  
G. Fernández/R. Zvereva (US/BEL) 6-4, 6-3 vs M. Hingis/A. Panatta (SWE/CZE)  
M. Hingis/A. Panatta (SWE/CZE) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Novotna/S. Sanchez (CZE)

#### Mixed Doubles

**Third round**  
C. Sukh/Sukova (CZ) 6-4, 6-3 vs D. Macpherson/McMillan (AUS)  
A. Hingis/A. Panatta (SWE/CZE) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg/J. Stoltenberg (AUS)

#### Men's Over-35

**Quarter-finals**  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)

#### Women's Over-35

**Quarter-finals**  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)

#### Men's Over-45

**Quarter-finals**  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)

#### Women's Ladies

**Quarter-finals**  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)

#### Boys' Singles

**Quarter-finals**  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)

#### Girls' Singles

**Quarter-finals**  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)

#### Boys' Doubles

**Quarter-finals**  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)

#### Girls' Doubles

**Quarter-finals**  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)  
J. Stoltenberg (AUS) 6-4, 6-3 vs J. Stoltenberg (AUS)

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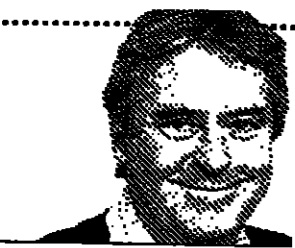
Cricket Atherton summons a retort to the chattering classes

Tennis Graf remains first among unequals. Stephen Bierley reports

13

14

Mixed blessings that recall the sunset evenings of youth



Frank Keating

THE mixed doubles final will be played today. More than £100,000 is on the table...

nouncing: "We just want to keep winning, so we can become part of history."

compatriots John Newcombe and Tony Roche won three in a row from 1968.

were put out of the over-45s quarter-finals on Friday by Ili Nastase and Tom Okker.

most marvellous and, really, the most relevant. To some misogynists, of course, mixed is the Battle of the Sexes writ large...

equally when to allow her the minimum room to get by.

with Gussy Moran, long in leg and short in skirt and skill.

Tour de France

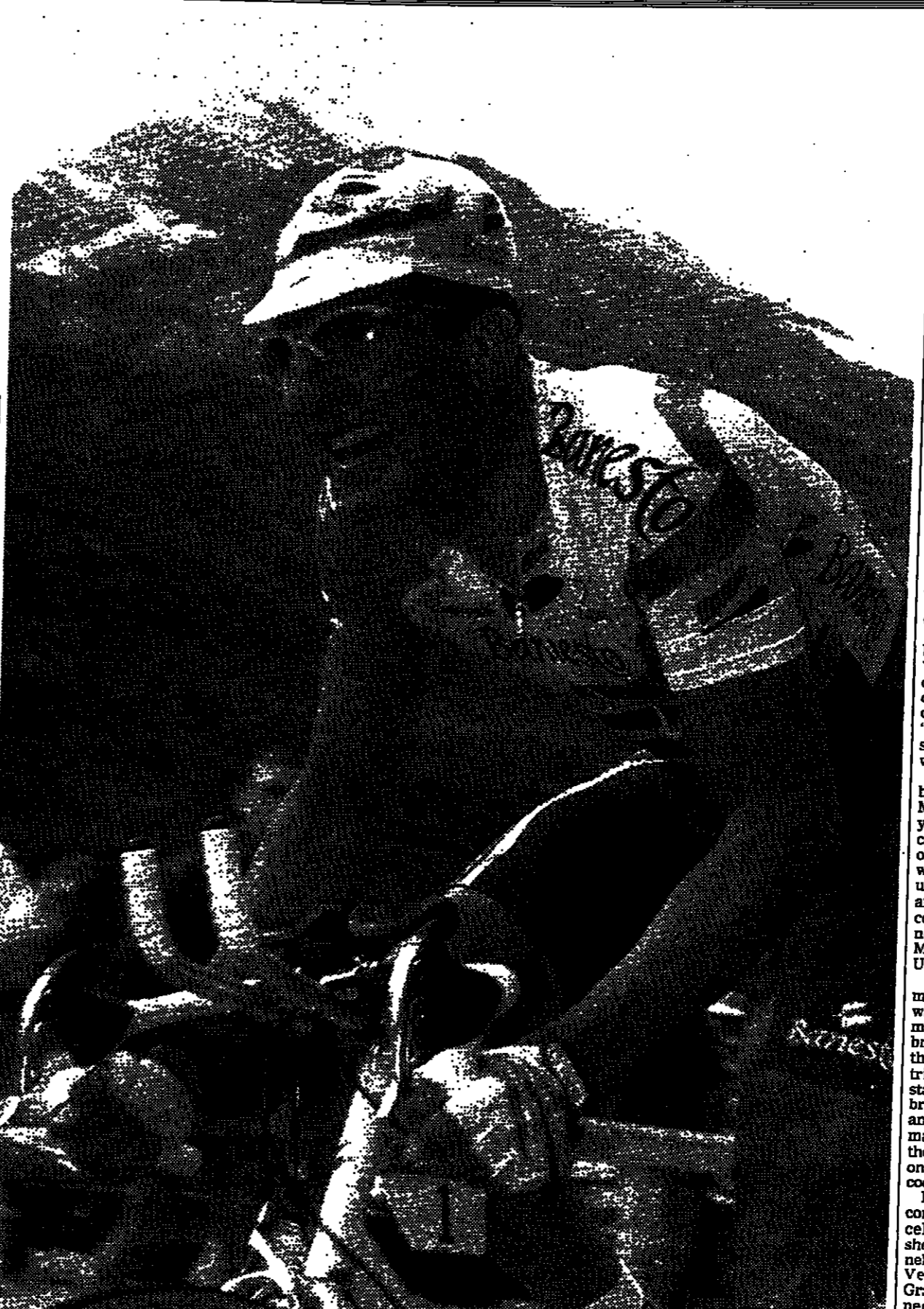
Indurain's sixth title slips away

William Fotheringham on the wicked Alpine climbs that have ruined the champion's campaign

EVGENY BERZIN, the precocious Russian prodigy who toppled Miguel Indurain in the 1994 Tour of Italy, finally came of age this weekend in the Alps.

healthy Tour pedigrees such as Tony Rominger, Piotr Ugrumov, Rikis and Richard Virenque — were covered by 1min 2sec.

German is a Tour novice. In sixth place is a dark horse, Peter Luttenberger of Austria, who came from nowhere to win the Tour of Switzerland last month.



Slippery slope... Indurain feels the strain during yesterday's individual time-trial to Val d'Isère

Tour enjoys TV boom

Mark Redding on why the great race can afford to reject pay-per-view offers

COUCH potatoes worldwide can rest easy: the Tour de France has no intention of going pay-per-view.

The blood, sweat and tears in the rain for the Tour cyclists

William Fotheringham in Val d'Isère on a weather-hit week that saw 40 withdrawals

IT WAS the first of many sobering sights over the weekend: on Saturday morning most of the field scrambled for shelter from a torrential rain shower five minutes before the start of the 300-kilometre stage from Chambéry to Les Arcs.

feelings: "I am getting to sleep at three in the morning, we are eating like pigs, as quick as we can every night, and just go to our rooms. I'm taking pills to sleep. There are rumours that the stages will finish later next year: if they do, I won't be here."

met de Roselend, suffering is prolonged in cold rain, while 60-miles-per-hour descents in blinding spray have taken on a new resonance since the death last year — on a fine dry day — of Fabio Casartelli.

cold. In such weather the tiny tears in the musculature do not heal as quickly. In addition, when riders crash — and there are few who have not — the bruises and strains make them sit awkwardly on the bike, causing compensatory injuries.

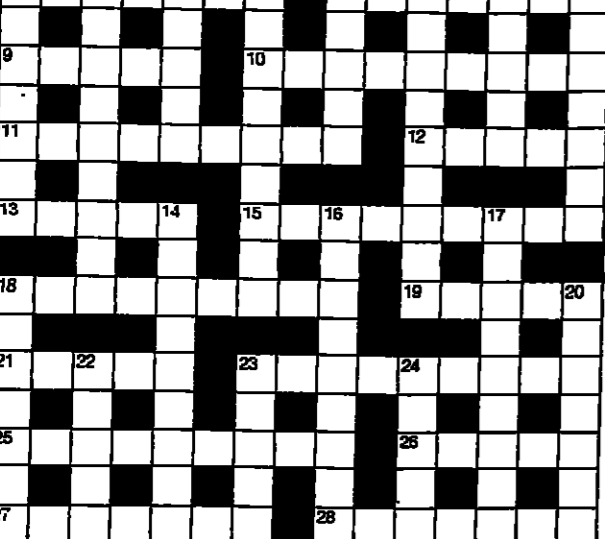
The Belgian went straight on at a left-hand bend and flew into a ravine, followed by his bike

broke out among the riders: the American Lance Armstrong had a close encounter with the Frenchman Gilles Bonnard, which he put down to "the nerves of the race".

gian went straight on at a left-hand bend, rode between a large rock and a crash barrier and flew into a ravine, followed by his bike.

Guardian Crossword No 20,699

Set by Crispa



- Across 1 Saw show with the right note (7) 5 Fodder for cattle in Alpine meadows? (7) 9 The student's leave of absence from lunch say (5) 10 Speed with which the managers aim to score here (9) 11 Turn work into play (9) 12 Enabled a high-ranking official to find oblivion (5) 13 Write free and middle-aged! (5) 15 Possibly let assets go to get flat (9) 18 People are not fit to take them (9) 19 This is unusual if not in military service (5) 21 Record set by a female animal (5) 23 A bunch of reporters keen to enlist help? (5, 4)

Word search puzzle with grid and clues. Clues include: 8 Quite without purpose, like (7) 14 Leaving out the objection (9) 16 America backing the prodigal will hold things up (9) 17 The means of obtaining admission is fascinating (9) 18 Many a fool, over time, creates friction (7) 19 Improves certain points on serious follower (7) 22 A resort of high-fliers (5) 23 Really punishing Nepal trip (5) 24 The rogue will do badly (5)

Vertical advertisements on the right edge of the page, including 'Whe da C', 'Re', 'How turned to the an old', 'Seven', and 'Inside'.